The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR:
THE MERCHANT SUBMARINE

One of the dramatic events of the war was the arrival at Baltimore on July 10 of the new German merchant submarine, so-called—the Deutschland. For some weeks rumors concerning the prospective voyage of such a submarine, carrying a cargo and prepared for the conveyance of passengers, had been circulating and had found their way into print. Like most other rumors, the details in these taxed credulity, but they proved to have a basis in fact. Elsewhere in this issue we discuss this voyage as a feat of seamanship, and point out why we believe that in its effect on the course of the war it will be negligible.

What is really novel about the Deutschland's trip is not that she crossed the Atlantic, but that she is the first cargo-carrying mercantile submarine vessel in the world. A year ago ten British submarines, the parts of which were made in the United States, voyaged without mishap from Montreal to Portsmouth, 3,600 miles. To be sure, there were no German war-ships which could attack them, and they had the convoy of one or more British cruisers. In sending submarines from their home ports to the Dardanelles both Germany and Great Britain long ago made marvelous long-distance records.

The facts as to the Deutschland, according to Captain Koenig's published statements and the report of the United States inspectors, are, briefly, these: She is 275 feet long, of 791 gross tonnage, carried 29 officers and sailors, and is entirely unarmed—although the question whether she may have structural facilities for mounting guns and putting in torpedo tubes seems unsettled. The time of her voyage was sixteen days. Her cargo was chiefly or solely dyestuffs and other chemicals—750 tons is said to be the amount. At present prices here these chemicals are extremely valuable—one estimate is $750,000. She will carry back rubber and other things greatly desired in Germany—that is, if she escapes the cordon of British cruisers which is awaiting her outside the Capes.

The Deutschland bore no letter from the Kaiser to the President, as had been reported, and her mail was of a semi-private kind, most or all of it for the German Embassy.

Captain Koenig's story of the voyage was gleeful and optimistic. He submerged only ninety miles out of the 3,800 traveled. There was no breakdown or delay. The canny captain waited at Heligoland a week after his announced sailing date in order to throw his enemies off the track. He is sure no enemy cruiser saw him, and few, if any, merchant steamers. The longest submergence was in the British Channel for four hours, and was thus described by Captain Koenig:

"And we sat down upon the floor of the British Channel," he chuckled, "because the roof was crowded with noisy destroyers, and we drank good French champagne while we sang 'We've Rings on Our Fingers and Bells on Our Toes,' and presently the destroyers gave us room on the roof and we came up and went on to America. It was all just as simple as that, I tell you."

Possibly the jubilant captain may slightly exaggerate the simplicity. Possibly, also, there may be a little exaggeration justifiable in war time in his accounts of the fleet of 2,000-ton submarines which can go 13,000 miles with 1,000 tons cargo without replenishing their oil tanks, and in his hints of German secret methods of avoiding mine fields. But captain and country have a right to be joyful over the feat they have accomplished. Meanwhile the war will go on.

The claim of the British and French Governments in the Deutschland matter, as laid before our Government by their Embassies, is that the Deutschland is *potentially* a warship; that its construction makes it useless for any purpose except that of a blockade-runner; that it is the avowed design in building such a vessel to escape and to prevent that stopping and search at sea which every belligerent nation has a right to exercise over a merchant ship; that thus, by the very plan and purpose of a submarine merchant vessel, a basic rule of international law is thwarted.

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This and other points of international law involved will doubtless be developed in diplomatic exchanges between the United States and the Allies.

THE GREAT OFFENSIVES OF THE ALLIES

France, England, and Russia during the week ending July 12 pushed still farther their attack on the German lines. The gains were considerable, and no decisive counter-attack had up to that date anywhere taken place.

On the very last day of the week cable despatches reported that the British had captured after a stubborn contest the town of Contalmaison and were holding it against counter-attacks. For the second time also they had occupied the whole of the Trones Wood, which had been alternately in the possession of the British and Germans. The British Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Douglas Haig, summarized the ten days' advance as including "the whole of the enemy's first system of defense on a front of fourteen thousand yards."

Meanwhile, the French advance on the south of the Somme has approached closely to the town of Peronne. The French line reaches quite a little farther eastward than the British, so much so that some critics have feared that the French were in danger of a flank attack. The latest British successes, to some extent at least, lessen this danger. The Germans in some places have been driven six or seven miles back from their original lines. The ultimate objective of the joint attack is presumably the town of Bapaume, but that is still some distance away, and the German defense may probably develop great strength in resisting any attack on that place. On another page will be found a portrait of General Foch, who has distinguished himself in the French offensive.

On the Russian war front, also, advances of moment have been made; the important town of Kovel, in particular, is now formidably threatened, for Russians under different commands are approaching it from the southeast, the east, and the northeast. A Petrograd correspondent of a London paper says, under date of July 11: "The last three days have seen another vast sweep forward by the Russians, comparable in speed to the opening stages of the Lutzk advance. Roughly, the Russians moved forward twenty-five miles on a front of fifty miles."

In the Stokhod sector, in Bukowina, and elsewhere, under General Brusiloff's splendid leadership, Russian generals are pushing the fight persistently on all fronts. A special despatch to the London "Times" from its correspondent in Russia, Mr. Stanley Washburn, quotes General Brusiloff as saying that his sweeping successes have not been "the product of chance or of Austrian weakness," and that his central purpose at the beginning was to attack along the entire southern front at the same hour, "so that the usual trick of hurrying reinforcements from one sector to another could not be practiced by the enemy."

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE WAR

The important announcement that Mr. Lloyd George is to take Earl Kitchener's place as Secretary of War emphasizes to the world the boundless confidence of the British people in the man who was once ridiculed as "a petty Welsh lawyer." Mr. Lloyd George has shown marvelous efficiency in solving the munitions problem, and has contributed largely to the agreement about the Irish situation, of which we speak elsewhere. Now he takes charge, so far as one man can, of the military situation outside of the actual field work, and succeeds in war control one of the most famous and experienced of British generals.

Simultaneously Sir Edward Grey, who has conducted England's foreign affairs with eminent ability and moral strength, will receive a peerage, as the Act establishing the present War Council requires that one member should represent the House of Lords, and Earl Kitchener's death makes it necessary either to find a peer or to make one. Sir Edward will continue at the head of the Foreign Office.

The new Order in Council regarding blockade, issued in London on July 8, and the French decree which followed, do not alter materially existing methods of blockade. The two Governments have been following (voluntarily, and not because of any international obligation) the rules of the Declaration of London, which document had never been ratified as a whole. Now they find it no longer expedient to follow those rules in detail, because it is not clear just what the rules mean as an interpretation of international law. The Order in Council therefore declares its intention to follow all recognized principles of the law of nations, and in its provisions states specifically what may be done—for in-

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stance, "the principle of continuous voyage or ultimate destination shall be applicable both in cases of contraband and blockade." Other provisions make specific the duty of British war-ships as to neutral vessels carrying contraband, presumption of hostile destination unless the contrary is shown, and prize-court proceedings.

FORCING BELGIANS TO FIGHT FOR GERMANY

The Belgian Government through Mr. Havenith, the Belgian Minister at Washington, has filed with the State Department a protest against the action of Germany in forcing Belgians to enter the German army and fight against their own fellow-countrymen. The Belgian note calls attention to the fact that such action is contrary to Article XXIII of the Fourth Hague Convention, and to all the recognized rules of warfare. The protest has been sent to all signatory nations to the Hague Convention.

It appears from this note that a number of Belgians had gone to Germany to engage in commerce or to manage industrial enterprises. They had not given up their Belgian citizenship, and, in fact, they were so tenacious of that citizenship that some of them at least had returned at the proper time to fulfill their terms of service in the Belgian army. Nevertheless, the German Government is attempting to compel these men to enter the German army and to fight against their own country.

The Spanish Embassy at Berlin, which has charge of Belgian interests in Germany, has protested against this violation of the laws of war and of the Hague Convention, but without avail. The explanation of the German Government in response to this remonstrance makes it perfectly clear that its action is based on a purely arbitrary assumption that these Belgian citizens had definitely abandoned all intention to return to their country. No proof of this, the Belgian Government asserts, exists; on the contrary, there is strong proof that the reverse is true.

Assuming that the facts are as stated by the Belgian Government, its comment is deserved: "Such an act," it says, "has in all times been regarded as one of the most grave outrages that can be committed against a people, because it reaches even the conscience of the unfortunate victims."

One would think that outraged Belgium had suffered every possible insult from Germany, but here seems to be a new and peculiarly exasperating injury. What answer will our Government make to the Belgian protest?

MEXICO AND MEDIATION

With little delay the United States Government answered in like tone the conciliatory note of the Carranza Government which was received by the State Department on July 4. Secretary Lansing's note was one of the shortest of the kind he has ever written, being merely an expression of "sincere gratification" at the "frank statement" of Carranza and an acceptance of the Mexican offer of mediation. "The Government of the United States," the note ran, "is prepared immediately to exchange views as to a practical plan to remove finally and prevent a recurrence of the difficulties which have been the source of the controversy."

The Administration, it is rumored, is inclined to the belief that the most effective method of mediating is by means of informal conferences between the Mexican Ambassador-Designate, Señor Arredondo, and Mr. Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State in the absence of Mr. Lansing, who is on a vacation. The plans for the scope of the mediation have not been announced as we go to press, but it is reported unofficially that they will include suggestion of a co-operative patrol of the border by Mexican and American soldiers, and possibly the extension of financial aid to Mexico in order to alleviate the present unusual stress of poverty in the southern Republic.

Persons who try to foretell what our policy toward Mexico is to be by the utterances of the Administration or the President will find it hard to find any consistency between the strong note which Mr. Lansing sent to Carranza on June 20 and the recent utterances regarding Mexico of President Wilson speaking at Detroit. That note contained more than a hint of the use of force against Mexico. The President at Detroit deplored the use of force, which he called "the long way to help Mexico as well as the wrong way."

Rumors of the death of Villa and rumors of his return to bandit activities are increasing. The Carranza Government, however, has officially acknowledged that a band of its soldiers was defeated by a force of Villistas in the State of Chihuahua and has warned the United States to be on guard against more border raids by the followers of the ex-

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mule driver, ex-dictator of Mexico. Certainly no strong evidence has yet been produced to prove Villa's death.

The transference of militia to the border has continued unabated, and as this is written it is estimated that there are as many as sixty thousand militiamen and thirty thousand regulars either in Mexico or along the international boundary.

MARRIED MILITIAMEN

Now that all the State militia has been called out and a large part of it sent to the Mexican border, the Secretary of War has issued an order authorizing departmental commanders to discharge enlisted militiamen who are now in the service if they have one or more dependent relatives.

This order is an official recognition of a state of affairs that ought never to have been allowed at all. It is one of the results of our inefficient and inconsistent militia system.

When the men of the National Guard enlisted originally, they undertook a very specific and limited duty. There was nothing to justify any expectation that they would be called upon for any service other than that usually falling to the National Guard—a suppression of local disorder and, in a great emergency, resistance to invasion. But recently Congress, instead of providing a truly National system of citizen soldiery, passed a law "Federalizing," as the phrase is, the militia. This law provided that militiamen should be called upon to take an oath which amounted to an agreement to obey the military orders of the President as Commander-in-Chief. In other words, provision was made for drafting the National Guardsmen into the Federal service for any purpose whatever. When the President called upon the militia to go to Mexico, the members of the National Guard were called upon to take this Federal oath. There were a very large number of militiamen who had families dependent upon them and whose first duty was to those families. The country was not in danger; there was no necessity for drafting any man, much less married men with families, into military service. But the pressure upon these men was such that those who declined to take the Federal oath were virtually drummed out of camp. Never did a false public opinion work a greater injustice than it did to some of these men. They had to choose between leaving their families in want and incurring the condemnation of their fellows as cowards. Most of them preferred hardship for their families and for themselves to the brand of cowardice.

Such a system has the merits neither of a volunteer system nor a system of universal service. It is the worst kind of compulsion, because it is discriminatory. It is a system that pretends to be a volunteer system, but is, in fact, a system of forcing men to volunteer.

We have no doubt that there are hundreds of men who ought to be back with their families who even now will not care to face the opprobrium of taking advantage of this new order of the Secretary of War.

The situation that has resulted in this injustice is due to two causes: first, the neglect of the country to provide for itself a professional army large enough to do such international police work as is needed in Mexico; and, second, the course of the Administration in letting matters drift to the very edge of war. Such a task as we face in Mexico is not a task for volunteers, least of all for unwilling volunteers. To force men to leave their duties as citizens and heads of families to undertake as amateur soldiers a police duty that distinctly calls for the professional is inexcusable.

HOME RULE AT LAST

On July 10, in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith, the British Prime Minister, made an announcement which will doubtless take its place among the historic events in that body. He said that the Provisional Bill for the establishment of a government for Ireland on the lines now agreed to by the Nationalists and Unionists would be submitted to Parliament next week; moreover, that the present Coalition Cabinet (in which there have been dissensions concerning the proposals) would stand sponsor for the measure and recommend its acceptance. Of course, the dominating factor, as the Premier admitted, "which has made us all willing to become parties or sponsors to this measure is the war." Referring to the part which the Ulster and other Irish regiments have taken in the fighting, Mr. Asquith added: "There is no patriotic Irishman but who felt that these common sacrifices have created a new bond between them and us."

According to the provisions of the bill, as explained by the Prime Minister, an Irish Parliament will be established at Dublin, military and naval matters and all matters

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arising from the war remaining under control of the British Parliament, and the Appeal Court at Dublin being appointed by the Imperial Executive. The bill is to remain in force during the war and for twelve months thereafter. Inclusion of the six Ulster counties that are now outside the Home Rule scheme could be accomplished, declared Mr. Asquith, only by the free will and assent of those counties.

This plan reflects immense credit on the statesman to whom it is universally accredited—the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, now War Minister. Some weeks ago, following the Sinn Fein revolt, he went to Ireland to make a first-hand study of the situation. Short-lived as was the Sinn Fein rebellion, it had made Englishmen and Irishmen alike realize that a temporary settlement of the Irish question was imperative. A permanent settlement could hardly be expected until after the close of the war. The plan at first suggested by Mr. Lloyd George was repugnant both to some Conservative members of the Cabinet and to some of the Irish Nationalists, but pressure from Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster Unionist leader, and from Mr. Redmond, the Nationalist leader, who had patriotically agreed to work together, finally resulted in practical union—for the moment at least. This shows the ability of Englishmen and Irishmen in times of national crisis to sink otherwise important differences and to unite in strengthening the Empire.

BACK TO THE LAND

A despatch from London announces that the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George has proposed a scheme for the acquisition of land by state compulsory purchase for cutting up into small farms. This is the most radical proposal yet made for the freeing of England from landlordism.

The solution of the land problem in any country underlies all other economic problems. The land is our mother. We are primarily dependent upon it.

Nowhere is the need to make the utmost possible use of the land more imperative than in England. This is not more evident in consideration of the grain crops than it is in consideration of forest crops. The Land Commission appointed by the present Government recently reported that there were no less than eight and a half million acres in England, now practically waste lands, which could be forested. Commenting on this, Mr. Lloyd George said:

> This is a very important matter for the state. Take Germany. Every acre of land of that sort in Germany is covered with the most magnificent forests, providing employment for a population—*population*, not workmen!—permanent employment for a population of over a million, and occasional employment for a good many more. The German states are deriving every year from these forests a net profit of over seven millions sterling ($35,000,000)—from land which we treat as perfect waste.

In another place Mr. Lloyd George said: "The land system of Great Britain is a ghastly thing. The percentage of cultivated land is lower than in any other country of Europe. This state of affairs is due to the fatuous and unbusinesslike methods of the landlord."

Many game preserves occupy areas which ought to be devoted to the production of food or timber. This is the first evil of landlordism in England and Scotland.

But there is a second evil—rents. The large farms are, in the main, fairly rented. This is not true, however, with regard to the small farms, and it is to the creation of small holdings that Mr. Lloyd George's latest reform is directed.

It is true that the Agricultural Holding Act of 1906 improved the position of the tenant farmer, particularly because it provided that a dispossessed farmer should be adequately recompensed for the permanent improvements which he had made in the farm he had rented. But the Act did not go far enough. The reform now needed is to get away from renting to owning. As Mr. Lloyd George says, with regard to changes of view among landlords:

> The mere fact that the landlord wants to change his investments is no reason for turning a man out of the farm which he has cultivated. If a notice to quit is served, it should be for the seller to compensate the farmer, *not merely for his improvements*, but to give him substantial compensation for turning him out.

Hence Mr. Lloyd George, who has already proposed to revalue the great holdings and to tax unused lands, such as game preserves and parks, at the same valuation as tilled lands, now proposes to acquire lands by state compulsory purchase for cutting up into small farms.

If such a reform has the success in England, Scotland, and Wales which it has already had in Ireland, it will transform the

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wretchedly paid landless toilers of a modern land monopoly into men who will feel inclined to stay at home instead of emigrating to Canada and Australia.

It will also convert England from her present position of dependence on foreign countries for her food supply into one of far greater independence.

PATRIOTISM VS. "PORK"

The "Congressional Record" for June 27 contained an unusual bit of testimony to the popular reaction against the "pork"-grabbing craze that recently swept over the land. Senator La Follette asked to have printed resolutions and proceedings of the Common Council of the city of Ripon, Wisconsin, and of the Commercial Club of that city, and certain signatures attached thereto, renouncing an appropriation for a public building to cost $75,000, and asking to have that sum applied to preparedness for National defense, preferably in the perfection of an aviation service.

The Commercial Club's resolutions, signed by nearly five hundred citizens, expressed the conviction that "private and local gain and enhancement should always be subservient to the common good," and "earnestly requested" their Representatives in Congress to introduce and endeavor to secure the passage of a bill diverting the appropriation for a Federal building at Ripon to the specific purpose named. Congress had already voted the money, and special legislation will be required to accomplish the patriotic desire of those who signed the resolutions.

The little community of four thousand people that made this unlooked-for request is more deserving of a Government building than many of the towns and villages which figure in the "pork" returns. Ripon is the seat of a flourishing college of the same name, and a few months ago, in order to secure a gift from the General Educational Board of $50,000 for that institution, the citizens raised $60,000 among themselves. In the Civil and Spanish-American Wars Ripon sent to the front generous quotas of troops. She now has a company of the National Guard on the way to the Mexican border, and is mustering a second company against emergency.

American communities of this type sometimes have a clearer conception of the country's needs and a more unselfish spirit than their agents at Washington evince.

WARDEN OSBORNE

Vindicated after months of prosecution that has looked like persecution, Thomas Mott Osborne was, on July 6, reinstated Warden of Sing Sing Prison, to resume his duties on July 16.

The charges against Mr. Osborne were never taken seriously by any who knew him, and were discounted by the public. He was accused of perjury, of neglect of duty, and of immorality. There was so much bitterness and vindictiveness in the attack upon him that from the first there was little reason to believe that those, whoever they were, who instigated those charges had any end in view that would serve the public interest. On the contrary, there was some reason to believe that the proceedings originated with men who found that the reform measures instituted in the prison by Warden Osborne were interfering with their profits. The first charge on which Mr. Osborne was tried was dismissed before it got to the jury because there was not enough in it to warrant a verdict. Recently another charge on which he was indicted was dismissed on an appeal to a higher court.

These charges were brought by a Grand Jury of Westchester County, and were laid before the Court by the District Attorney of that county. The result shows that the charges were so baseless that the courts would not even consider their being submitted to the decision of a petit jury. If the people of Westchester County, New York, have enough civic spirit, they will insist that this matter be probed and the reason for the proceedings against Mr. Osborne be discovered. The real instigators of such proceedings never appear in the open. They use others as tools. In this case they failed, but another time they might succeed. The burden of uncovering this matter does not rest upon Warden Osborne, for the offense has not been primarily against him, but against the public interest of the people of the State, and specifically against the people of Westchester County.

During these months of prosecution Mr. Riley, the State Superintendent of Prisons, who was, to say the least, totally unsympathetic with Mr. Osborne's measures for the reform of prison administration, was removed from his office for cause, and in his place Governor Whitman appointed Mr. James M. Carter. It is Mr. Carter who has now reinstated Mr. Osborne and has made Professor Kirchwey, who acted as warden during

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Starrett in the New York Tribune

ON HIS METTLE

McKee Barclay in the Baltimore Sun

HARD PRESSED

GERMANY AT BAY

McBride in the Knoxville Sentinel

WITHOUT A PILOT!

Starrett in the New York Tribune

"THEY'LL BE SOUR IN A MONTH"

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris)

HEROES OF THE REAR RANK AMID THE DANGERS OF BUREAUCRACY

"Why do you wear a soldier's steel helmet?"

"To protect my head against the falling stacks of books and papers."

THE CENSOR

From the Bystander (London)

English Soldier in France (going on leave—having asked a question, and having listened to three minutes' unintelligible eloquence): "And 'ow does the chorus go?"

A MUSICAL COMEDY

From the Bystander (London)

THE WAR IN THE GERMAN HOME

Kamerade! Kamerade!

"Comrade, comrade" (in Germanized French), is the German soldier's cry of surrender. This boy, caught in the jam closet, surrenders to his father in the same fashion.

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Mr. Osborne's leave of absence, a confidential officer of the State Department of Prisons.

It is hardly necessary to say that the personal fortunes of Mr. Osborne ought not to affect public opinion as to the soundness or unsoundness of the principle for which he stands; but, as a matter of fact, his vindication will do a great deal to give wider acceptance to his humane views.

SUMMER AND THE SLUMS

You city-dwellers who can afford to leave the sweating town during the hot months, and you fortunate ones whose homes are in the country and who have never known the smell of melting asphalt and the worse smell of humanity close packed beneath the broiling sun, the children of the slums are asking you to help them get away.

The mothers of the slums are asking how soon their children can go to the green fields and the seashore. Just what the country means to them you can realize only if you know the East Side of New York City on a hot summer day. The high tenements hold the heat and the streets are funnels filled with weary people. Vile smells of garbage rise to stifle you. Indoors it is impossible to get any rest.

The East Side children and mothers are speaking to you through the Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement. For three years this organization has been sending boys and girls of the slums to summer camps until these boys and girls have come to think that a few days in the cool green country every year is the right of every human being, just as you more well-to-do Americans who count on your summer vacations to restore you in health and strength know that such a vacation is your right. Through The Outlook the Settlement has this to say:

We have a week-end camp for boys who are working in the Palisades Park near the Excelsior Landing, and if you are ever near there on Sunday stop and see the boys. It's a wonderful place, and they have a great time. Our younger boys have the time of their lives. The Hotchkiss and Pawling Schools take them into camp, and it is an experience that none of them ever forget. Our girls' camp is at Twin Island, in Pelham Bay Park, and that will be open in July and August. It fills those of us who live down here with hope and joy to see how these children of the city take to the simplest, most primitive camp life. They love it, and it develops a whole set of the qualities we were afraid they did not possess. Our girls' camp is practically new this year, as our experiment last year was run with borrowed tents. Our own equipment is not all paid for yet, so if any one is especially interested in camping for girls this is their chance.

The city is letting us have the Twin Island house again this summer, the old house that we all love in spite of the fact that it is in a dilapidated condition, but it is the first country many of our people ever knew, and they will trudge the two miles from the station on Sunday picnic parties right through the winter. The mothers and babies are to be there and a few girls who have not yet learned to sleep in tents.

Five dollars will send a mother and baby to Twin Island.

Five dollars will send a boy or girl to camp.

The Outlook knows of no better way to help the poor of New York City's slums through the summer than through this admirable Settlement. Checks should be sent to the Jacob A. Riis Settlement, 48 Henry Street, New York City.

THE WOMEN VOTERS

From the standpoint of the practical political manager, any forecast of the result of the Presidential campaign is much complicated by the woman suffrage question. Since the last Presidential contest the suffrage problem has taken on many new angles, for Illinois, Kansas, Nevada, Oregon, Arizona, and Montana have, in the quadrennium, extended the suffrage, and this fall women from twelve States will vote for a President.

These twelve States cast ninety-one votes in the Electoral College, a number quite sufficient to swing the election.

That the political managers realize that the woman voter must be reckoned with is evidenced by the fact that for the first time each of the old political parties has a suffrage plank in its platform. Although it is evident that suffragists regard each plank as a mere sop, nevertheless it is a source of satisfaction to them to receive recognition from both of the great parties. The Progressive platform, declaring for both State and National suffrage, could not fail to be satisfactory to the most radical suffragist. The presence of women delegates in the three great nominating conventions also served to accentuate the importance of women in political affairs to-day.

The leaders of the suffragists estimate that four million women are entitled to vote in the coming Presidential election, but the conservatives acknowledge that from two million to two and a half million will actually avail

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themselves of the opportunity. Will these two million or more women vote with anything like unanimity?

Senator Helen Ring Robinson, of Denver, Colorado, in a recent talk with a representative of The Outlook expressed the belief that the hopes of those suffrage leaders who thought that the vote of the women of the country could be swung almost solidly for any one candidate were baseless.

"It is my belief," she said, "that the women of the country cannot be gathered in a party of women any more than you could hold an equal body of men for a distinctive masculine cause, such as universal training."

Another well-known suffragist leader, in discussing the problem for The Outlook, said:

"If Colonel Roosevelt had run on a strong suffrage platform, it might have been possible to concentrate the vote of the women of the country for him, but my belief is that under present conditions, with the ardent suffragists satisfied with neither platform declaration, the new woman's party will try to aid the Republicans.

"The suffrage leaders hold the Democratic party responsible for the failure of the Anthony amendment; but they cannot carry the women voters of the country with them in any war on the Democrats, for women by nature are not destructive, and they will not join in any campaign of revenge."

THE ISSUES AS WOMEN VOTERS SEE THEM

In a cross-country journey which covered many of the suffrage States an effort was make by a correspondent of The Outlook to sound the sentiment of the rank and file of the women voters, to ascertain if there was any determined swing toward one side or the other. He found the women, like the men, discussing the European war, our Mexican policy, prohibition, and international questions.

In California it is evident that the liquor interests fear the effect of the women's vote on prohibition. It is generally conceded that, while the women cannot be counted on to vote solidly for prohibition, they are causing the opposition much uneasiness.

In talking with every-day women voters, one thing became evident—that the women do not necessarily vote with the men of the family. The extension of the suffrage has set them to thinking things out for themselves. In one family gathering, after the head of the house had expressed his determination to vote for Wilson, the wife and the wife's mother quietly responded that they intended to vote for Hughes.

It is also evident that many women of the suffrage States who have heretofore been too indifferent to exercise their voting privilege are going to the polls for the first time this year. It may be merely a coincidence, but the correspondent failed to find a woman in any of the suffrage States who does not intend to vote this fall. This may be due to the fact that the issues presented this year are of greater interest than usual, but probably more to the fact that suffrage has become a popular thing, more in the fashion than it used to be. It must be set down without bias that suffrage as the all-absorbing issue for the moment has been sidetracked by the women of the West for Americanism. They may differ in their opinions as to which candidate represents true Americanism—some being strong advocates of Wilson and his peace policy, others being equally outspoken for Hughes and preparedness. "We will vote, not as women for a woman's cause," said one ardent suffragist, "but as Americans for America."

A RIGHTEOUS DECISION, BUT AN UNJUST LAW

A correspondent calls our attention to a decision rendered by Federal Judge Jeremiah Neterer, in Seattle, Washington, that a witness who has no belief in a Creator who rewards truth and punishes falsehood is incompetent to bear testimony; as a result of this decision the charge against an alleged member of a gang of smugglers accused of importing seven Chinese into the country in violation of the immigration laws was dismissed. We have obtained the written opinion of Judge Neterer, which is based upon the common rule law that "a person who does not believe in a God who is the rewarder of truth and the avenger of falsehood cannot be permitted to testify." This rule, the Judge says, does not necessarily imply that the witness must subscribe to his belief in the Christian religion. "If our form of oath is not binding upon persons of other religious belief, the form which is recognized as binding can be administered. A Jew may be sworn on the Pentateuch or Old Testament, with his head covered, a Mohammedan on the Koran, a Gentoo [or Hindu] touching with his hand the foot of a Brahmin or priest of his religion, the

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Chinese by breaking a china saucer." It is true that the Constitution of the State of Washington provides that no person shall be incompetent as a witness or juror in consequence of his opinion on matters of religion. This, of course, is binding on the State courts, and apparently, under the Revised Statutes of the United States, is binding on the Federal courts in civil trials, but it does not affect the common law rule in criminal cases.

It is the business of the courts not to make law but to declare what the law is; and the authorities which Judge Neterer cites seem to make it clear that, whatever may be the laws of the several States, under the Federal law as it now stands no witness in criminal cases is competent unless he believes that there is a God who rewards truth and punishes falsehood.

In our judgment, this decision calls for action by Congress, which should abolish the rule altogether, or at least so extend the present provisions of the Revised Statutes as to make the laws of the State in which the court is held the rule as to the competency of witnesses in the United States courts in criminal as well as civil trials. The ancient rule rendering atheists incompetent as witnesses grew up at a time when atheism was, or at least was universally believed to be, synonymous with immorality. The sermon of Robert Hall, the famous English divine, at the time of the French Revolution, challenging infidelity to produce any record of services rendered to humanity by its adherents met with no reply. Such a challenge in our time would meet with instant reply—indeed, it would scarcely be offered even by the most combative of believers. Whether the change is due to the decay of piety or to the development of an ethical conscience divorced from piety, there can be no doubt of the reality of the change. As, on the one hand, there are some very orthodox people who are unscrupulous liars, so, on the other hand, there are agnostics who are scrupulously truthful, who yet profess themselves wholly unable to decide whether there is a personal God who is the Judge of the earth and who rewards the virtuous and punishes the guilty. Under these changed conditions no religious opinion or lack of religious opinion should exclude a man from the witness-stand. It should be left to the jury to determine what credence they will attach to his testimony, in view of all that can be known respecting his character.

THE DEUTSCHLAND'S ADVENTURE

The voyage of the German commercial submarine Deutschland through the North Sea, the English Channel, and across the Atlantic to Baltimore is a notable feat of seamanship. It does not demonstrate the skill of the Germans as shipbuilders and sailors —that had been demonstrated before in times of peace by their splendid fleet of merchant steamers and sailing ships—but it confirms it. One of the industrial wonders in modern times is the great and rapid devolopment of the German merchant service during the last half-century. With only practically two ports from which they could reach the Atlantic Ocean, and those two ports artificially made on two muddy rivers—namely, the ports of Bremen and Hamburg—the German people have built up a merchant marine second only in size to that of Great Britain, and second to none in the world from the point of view of comfort in carrying passengers and perfect mechanical construction and equipment. France, with a much greater coast-line and far finer harbors, has done nothing like it, and the achievements of the people of the United States, with their magnificent harbors and approaches to the Atlantic and the Pacific, are ridiculous in comparison.

But when a complete and ungrudging word of praise and admiration is said for the Deutschland's achievement, it must also frankly be said that it accomplished little more of practical advantage for Germany than is found in a first-rate advertisement. It has aroused some new discussion of the international law of the sea; it will undoubtedly revive the flagging enthusiasm of the people of Germany and of pro-Germans in this country; but it makes no immediate practical contribution to the settlement of war problems. A single commercial submarine like the Deutschland is simply a blockade-runner. It would take a very large fleet of them to make any impression upon the export or import trade of Germany. It has taken twelve or fifteen years to develop the automobile into a goods-carrying vehicle of commercial value. It is easy to imagine, therefore, how long it would take to develop the submarine in the same direction. At the beginning of the war the Zeppelin, it was promised, was going to revolutionize warfare. As a matter of fact, the Zeppelin as a weapon has

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done nothing of practical military value. It has made a few raids for the purpose of terrifying Paris and London, and has utterly failed in that object. The aeroplane has not proved to be an effective fighting machine. It has become a necessary instrument of scouting, but that is all. The German Zeppelin and the German naval and commercial submarine have simply proved the great mechanical genius of the German people and their great physical prowess as navigators of the sea and air. They are pathetic illustrations of the legitimate mastery in peaceful commerce and industry which the German ruling classes have thrown away for the hollow prizes of a hopeless war.

That the German people are themselves beginning to take this view of the situation is shown by quotations from Professor Förster, of the University of Munich; Maximilian Harden, the eminent German journalist; and Dr. Liebknecht, the German publicist, which we print on another page. That the Germans are now comforting themselves by feats of individual prowess rather than by hopes of national victory is indicated by the remarkable article in the New York "World" of July 11 from its staff correspondent Karl H. von Wiegand. That his article, cabled from Berlin, should have been passed by the censor is in itself a striking commentary on the situation. We quote some passages from this article:

> Germany to-day is in the vise-like grip of a pressure which for a time is likely to increase on all fronts. . . .
>
> Can the British Empire, Russia, France, and Italy, with their population of 670,000,000 whites, blacks, browns, and yellows, turn the screw tight enough to crush in the ramparts of the 115,000,000 of whites of the Central Empires? is a question that probably will be answered within the next few weeks. . . .
>
> Now for the first time in the war the military initiative has passed to the other side. Germany is fighting on the defensive almost everywhere. . . .
>
> Germany is fighting day and night against superior numbers in the west with a heroism and bravery to which the other side is giving a lavish tribute of praise. . . .
>
> Fed on food that at the very best cannot have the strength-giving, force-producing properties which the men on the other side have in abundance; snatching a few hours' rest under a hail of shells and shrapnel; or sitting up straight on the hard wood seats of jammed railroad cars; shunted from front to front, from point to point, like shuttlecocks on the vast loom like network of the German railways, the German soldier to-day is performing feats of prodigious valor, and showing endurance under adverse conditions against great odds which some day, when military reasons exist no longer in any of the warring countries against details that cannot now be told, will challenge the world's admiration.

The author of these phrases, loyal to Germany and one of the most trusted and honored of the American war correspondents, quite clearly sees the real meaning of the Skagerak naval battle, of the Zeppelin raids, and of the dramatic voyage of the Deutschland.

In the final German defeat the German people will have at least the comfort of knowing that their individual soldiers and sailors have been men of valor, of great virility, skill, and bravery. What they will say to the ruling class that has diverted these admirable qualities from peaceful productiveness into a wholly unnecessary and unsuccessful war remains to be seen.

THE PLATTSBURG CAMPS TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

The Plattsburg camps are very real laboratories for our democracy. Like all laboratories, they are engaged in studying the best way to solve the problems given them. To discover new ways to solve old problems means to experiment; and to experiment means to invite failure as well as success. No laboratory ever existed that averaged one hundred per cent of successes; and this fact should be borne in mind both by those who ardently defend and those who criticise the Plattsburg camps.

The chief military problem confronting the officers in command at Plattsburg is this: How can raw recruits be made into trained soldiers in the shortest possible time? The officers at Plattsburg are more than instructors, they are pupils as well; and this question they are trying to answer, not only in the interest of their volunteer recruits, but for the information and future advantage of the United States army.

There are, however, other questions involved in the training camp movement than those primarily military. Such questions as the following are primarily social:

How can the obligations as well as the privileges of citizenship be brought home to the average American? How can we disci-

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pline ourselves as a Nation in order that we may become in the highest degree socially efficient? How can we best turn the diverse elements within our borders into the common and willing service of our National ideals?

To these social questions the Plattsburg camps are beginning even now to find an answer. But when these camps are placed upon a universal basis, when they become the capstone of a sane and unified system of physical instruction in our public schools, they will have a better chance than they now have to answer these questions fairly and finally.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that the military scientists in command at Plattsburg are as capable and as willing to help in the solution of these questions that deal with citizenship and moral discipline as they are to teach their recruits to play the part of men and soldiers.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

The common is the wonderful. What more wonderful, if we will but think of it, than this American spectacle—a hundred million people educating themselves? They select the directors, provide the teachers, write the text-books, build the school-houses, determine the curriculum, appropriate the money.

They repeat the fabled feat of the Oriental magician—throw the rope ladder up into the air and then climb up on it.

If democracy had done nothing else, it would be sufficiently justified by what it has done in the last hundred years to build this marvelous edifice—our common school system.

A hundred years ago there were schools for the common people in only half the country. They are now provided in every State in the Union and in every district of every State.

A hundred years ago there was little or no provision for the education of girls outside the home. Now the schools and colleges for girls equal in standard and equipment those for boys.

A hundred years ago the common schools taught the three R's—"readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic." Now the curricula of our high schools equal those of our colleges then.

A hundred years ago the higher education was confined to Greek, Latin, and mathematics. Now the equipment for teaching science, both theoretical and practical, is not inferior to that for teaching the humanities.

A hundred years ago the student bodies in our biggest colleges were not as large as the faculties in the same colleges now.

A hundred years ago there were three learned professions—law, medicine, and ministry. Now every vocation is a learned vocation.

A hundred years ago much agricultural and mechanical industry was drudgery. Now all industries are becoming arts.

A hundred years ago public education was defended as a police duty—an economical method of protecting the State from the two-fold burden of poverty and crime. Now the children of the State are recognized as the wards of the State and public education as a public duty.

A hundred years ago the teachers in our public schools were generally untrained; pedagogy was unknown. Now every State has its normal school.

A hundred years ago education was purely academic. Now industrial education receives equal honor with academic education and is rapidly acquiring equal endowment.

And this has been accomplished by a democracy without a common heritage, a common creed, a common tradition, or an established church; nothing common but a human aspiration and liberty to attempt the impossible.

What remains for us to do—besides continuing and improving what we have done?

Two things:

Add training to teaching. Teaching gives information; training gives power.

And to training of the mind add training of the body and training of the conscience.

This is The Outlook's contribution to the session of the National Education Association, reported elsewhere in this issue.

WHICH IS CATHOLIC?

Dr. W. T. Manning, the rector of Trinity Church, New York City, in his annual statement, published in the "Church Year Book," renews his attack on the Episcopal Board of Missions for its action in providing for participation in the gathering known as the Panama Congress. This Congress, as our readers may recall, was a gathering of Protestant churches to consider what steps can be taken to promote evangelical work in South and Central America. To any co-

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operation with Protestant bodies in a missionary movement of any description Dr. Manning objects, on the ground that, "if this Church should officially align herself with that confused mass of beliefs and disbeliefs included under the name Modern Protestantism, and join a combined Protestant movement in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, . . . she would be untrue to the faith as it has come down to her through the ages." What this faith is to which she would be untrue he defines in the following sentences:

Did our Lord Jesus Christ found a visible Church in this world to be the means of our living fellowship with him? Has that Church, with all its shortcomings on its human side, had a continuous historic life, and is it here in the world to-day so that we can recognize it and find grace and salvation in it? Did our Lord establish in his Church a self-perpetuating ministry to which he gave definite powers, and which has come down to the present time through the succession of the bishops? Is our own communion actually and historically a part of this divinely instituted and visible Church, whose life runs back continuously to the days of the Apostles? Does this Church of which we are baptized members hold to the faith and order of the Holy Catholic Church as these were held by all Christians everywhere during the first six centuries after our Lord?

There are two possible bases for church union. The one is indicated by the above sentences. It assumes that Jesus of Nazareth founded a visible Church, that he appointed Apostles, that he gave to them power to appoint successors, and that no one is working loyally under his authority for the promotion of his kingdom unless he belongs to this ecclesiastical organization. This is the view of the Roman Catholic Church and of the party in the Episcopal Church to which Dr. Manning belongs. Unfortunately for those Episcopalians like Dr. Manning who wish to find in this view a basis for church union, the Roman Catholic Church, officially and authoritatively, by Papal edict, has refused to recognize the Episcopal Church as a part of this Holy Catholic Church, and has refused to recognize the priests and bishops of the Episcopal Church as successors to the Apostles. In the view of the Roman Catholic Church, the Episcopal Church is not only no true Church, but it is a false pretender. The fact is that Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning, by leaving the Episcopal Church of England and finding a happy refuge in the Roman Catholic Church, followed to their logical and consistent conclusion the views apparently held by Dr. Manning, of Trinity Church.

The other basis for church union assumes that Jesus of Nazareth inculcated certain fundamental principles of conduct and by his personal spiritual presence still inspires a spirit of faith and hope and love in those who accept his leadership, and that those who do thus accept his leadership and endeavor to inculcate his principles and conform their own lives to them constitute the Church of Christ, whatever may be their ecclesiastical organization or their theological creed. For this theory assumes that Jesus has left his disciples to frame their varying organizations in accordance with the varying conditions of life, and to interpret their spiritual experience of loyalty and love in creeds accordant with the intellectual habits of the time and expressed in the language of the time.

The Standard Dictionary gives as the original sense of "catholic" three synonyms—"universal in reach," "comprehensive," "general."

We leave our readers to determine which of the two conceptions of the Christian Church given above is better entitled to the term "catholic."

THREE GERMAN CRITICS OF GERMANY

IN our opinion, the greatest danger to-day to the present Prussianized German Government at Berlin in its ruthless prosecution of the war is in Germany itself. It lies in the expression of independent opinion. That opinion has always been evident in the south. We are not surprised, therefore, to find a recently published pamphlet by Friedrich Wilhelm Förster, Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Munich, violently assailed by some Prussian papers. In this pamphlet Professor Förster makes this assertion:

The new [German] Empire was born in a pagan spirit; that is to say, of individualism purely national and selfish, which had taken

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possession of humanity from the days of the Renaissance, and which had found in Bismarck its ablest and most consistent protagonist; but which was bound fatally to come to a catastrophe, as will everything in this world which endeavors to act against the spirit of Christian truth.

In particular, Professor Förster argues that the centralization of power in the hands of Prussia is contrary to a true federal spirit. In this he has been supported, not only by much of the liberal press, led by the "Frankfurter Zeitung," but even by the "Berliner Tageblatt." Although published in Berlin, supposed to be the center of Prussianism, the "Tageblatt" says:

These articles were dictated by the best kind of patriotic spirit; indeed, the patriotism which Förster has shown is a virile patriotism which does not shrink in the face of certain embarrassing truths.

Professor Förster's judgment is the opinion of another very independent and better-known writer—Maximilian Harden. Who is he, and why do people pay attention to him? He is the son of a Jewish merchant of Polish origin. He has dropped his family name, Wittkowski. He is the most outspoken of German journalists, and that is why people pay attention to him; indeed, so outspoken is he that his paper, "Die Zukunft," was suppressed for a season after January 1, 1915. Nevertheless, Herr Harden was audacious enough to print the following the other day:

Germany is responsible for the war, . . . and the Chancellor is unreasonable if he expects the Allies to make peace based on "the situation on the map." They will not do that. . . . All the belligerents must agree to a peace guaranteeing absolute sovereignty to every one, with an international agreement on military questions and the establishment of an international court with the power to make unruly nations respect its decisions.

There is a third German upholder of these views, a man who from the day of the war to the present has been insistent in its condemnation—Karl Liebknecht. Nothing more waspish was ever heard in the German Parliament than the following recent dialogue. Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, was speaking, and said: "We could have had all we wanted by peaceful labor. Our enemies chose war."

Deputy Liebknecht. It was you who chose war. [Uproar. Cries of "Ruffian!" "Scoundrel!" and "Out with him!"]

The Chancellor. In Belgium Germany can no longer give over the long-oppressed Flemish race to Latinization.

Liebknecht. Hypocrisy!

The Chancellor. We want neighbors who will not unite against us to throttle us, but who will work with us, as we with them, for our mutual profit.

Liebknecht. And then you will fall upon them as you fell upon Belgium. [Cries.]

The Chancellor. The memory of this war will last long in the countries cruelly scourged.

Liebknecht. It is your fault.

The Chancellor. The peace which ends this war must be a lasting peace. It must not contain in it the seeds of new wars, but the seeds of a final peaceful regulation of European affairs.

Liebknecht. Begin by making the German people free! [Great disturbance.]

Here are three utterances by three Germans—utterances which have moved and will continue to move the German people in this time of war towards a longing for peace. That longing has been thus expressed by "Vorwärts," the well-known Socialist paper:

We raise anew our sharpest protest against every effort and every proclamation whose purpose is the annexation of foreign territory and the oppression of other nations. . . . The people want peace. If this war, which daily demands new sacrifices, is not to draw itself out needlessly, to endure until the complete exhaustion of all the nations in it, one of the participating Powers must offer the hand of peace. Germany, who, attacked by greatly superior forces, has thus far victoriously defended herself against all her enemies, . . . should take the first step to bring about peace.

Of course, the Government's official organ, the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of Berlin, says concerning the "Vorwärts" manifesto:

It will create a highly undesirable impression abroad. The manifesto may be interpreted as war weariness on the part of Germany, which does not exist.

But it does exist. It may not yet be evident to the Junkers and militarists; but it is evident to the Bavarians, to the thousands who read the "Zukunft," and to the millions who read "Vorwärts." The evidences above quoted of independent German protest against a Prussianized Government indicate that sooner or later the German people as a whole will peacefully or, if need be, forcefully overthrow such a Government.

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THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF TEACHERS[1]

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

ONE man who attended the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the National Education Association, which adjourned recently after a week of conferences in New York City, said that more than by anything else at the Conference he was impressed when at one of the meetings the teachers were asked to hold hands as an evidence of the democracy of the Convention.

Read in cold type by a person not reached by the spirit of the Convention, this doubtless sounds sentimental. But this episode is worth relating because it is symptomatic of the predominating tendency of the Convention—a tendency toward democracy. The outstanding feature of the Convention was the unanimous and unceasing effort on the part of the thirty thousand teachers who attended it to prove—as one of them put it—"that education can be hitched up to life."

The entire emphasis at this Convention was laid on the practical side of education. The teacher who clings to the old idea that the function of the school is "to train the mind," if he or she was at the Convention at all, was completely overshadowed by the teacher who believes that the function of the school ought to be to prepare children directly for life by the highest cultivation of their social and human sides as distinguished from their intellectual. Interest in scholasticism was conspicuous by its absence.

The National Education Association was founded in Philadelphia in 1857 as the National Teachers Association. Previous to that time there had been a number of State associations of educators, but in that year the presidents of ten of these State societies issued a call for an association of National scope "to advance the dignity, respectability, and usefulness" of the teaching profession and to improve that profession by "distributing among all the accumulated experiences of all." The society grew slowly until 1870, when it was combined with the American Normal Association and the National Superintendents Association. At present the Association consists of an advisory body known as the National Council and nineteen departments covering practically every kind of educational work from grammar school courses to the curricula of colleges. The active membership of the society is about ten thousand, and the usual excess over that number at the annual meetings is made up largely of associate members. The aim of the organization is to unify education and to correlate the elements of educational science in the United States as well as to examine and report on the usefulness of all new methods of teaching as they are suggested. Its considerable success in the pursuance of these aims is largely responsible for the comparative uniformity of educational theory in the United States.

To have got anything like an adequate impression of the entire doings of the Convention one would have needed the winged feet of Mercury and the eyes of the Argus, for, in addition to the general meetings of the Convention, held in the great Madison Square Garden, there were numerous subsidiary meetings held at civic centers, in hotels, and at other meeting-places throughout the city, and even in adjacent suburbs. But wherever the visitor went he found the teachers placing the same emphasis on the importance of being practical.

This deep-seated and widespread desire to prove that education could be "hitched up to life" was expressed by the overwhelming attention that the Convention gave to subjects which might be included under the broad term "National efficiency" to the exclusion of all other subjects. Under this uneuphonious term would be classified such subjects as vocational training, manual training, agriculture, home economics, and the education of immigrants, to all of which the assembled teachers gave a good deal of their time. Under this heading, too, ought to be classed the subject which is popularly known as preparedness.

Apparently the outstanding issue which the educators thought they must decide upon was this question of preparedness. With them it took the form of the approval or disapproval of military training in the schools.

Apparently, too, most of the thirty thousand delegates had already made up their

[1] In relation to this Convention see elsewhere in this issue an editorial entitled "One Hundred Years Ago."

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minds on this important question before they came to the first Convention of the Association ever held in New York City. For at the first general meeting under the great roof of Madison Square Garden the demarcation between those who wanted military training for school-boys and those who did not was clearly drawn. Part of the great audience applauded vigorously when Mayor Mitchel and Mr. William H. Maxwell, the City Superintendent of Schools, advocated preparedness; but another section of the great throng was just as enthusiastic when Dr. David Starr Jordan discountenanced it.

All through the week's meetings this subject stood out above any other. It was indicative of the intense seriousness of the teachers that, although their minds were apparently made up on this matter when they came to New York, they nevertheless invited to address them two men whom they considered to be, respectively, the ablest advocate of the doctrines of pacifism and the ablest exponent of preparedness—namely, Mr. William Jennings Bryan and Major-General Leonard Wood. But, excellent in their own way as were the addresses of each of these gentlemen, it is doubtful if the voting of the teachers was much affected by either of them. For approximately the same proportion of sentiment for and against preparedness existed whenever the subject was brought up, which was often.

After the speech of Mayor Mitchel and the address of Superintendent Maxwell, which was read for him in his absence, at the opening conference the pacifists monopolized most of the sessions until the last one, when their opponents brought General Wood to the platform. But the strong majority for adequate measures of National defense had been there through it all.

Of the speakers against military training in the schools the big gun was Mr. Bryan. Declaring that the reasons for adopting such training are not now strong enough, Mr. Bryan said:

"Not only do we find a protection from possible attack from abroad in the fact that this war has resulted in the killing of three million men and the wounding of nearly ten millions, and in the fact that the new debts contracted to carry on this war now equal all the war debts that have come down from all the wars of history from the beginning of this world; not only do we have this, but in the last three years we have negotiated with three-fourths of the world treaties that pledged the contracting nations to a year's investigation before either nation can resort to force in the settlement of an international difficulty.

"Do these things bring us no advantage?" went on Mr. Bryan. "Is all our progress vain, and must we now, a great Nation—great in numbers, great in resources—and isolated from the countries of the Old World, convert our Nation into an armed camp and use our schools as breeding-places for an army?"

General Wood's speech was a direct reply to Mr. Bryan.

"Numbers are not strength," he told the teachers. "No wolf was ever frightened by the size of a flock of sheep. . . . If you have in your institutions anything worth defending, remember that words do not defend these things. . . . We have altogether too much of the Fourth of July style of oratory, all too much of the type of man who speaks of a million springing to arms between sunrise and sunset. We have been sitting up nights for three weeks to see thirty thousand men spring, and it is a very heavy spring."

Pacifists had been bombarding the attendants of the meetings with pamphlets urging that historical text-books ought to be rewritten, so that wars and kings and generals would be assigned a position of lesser prominence than they now occupy. General Wood took a hint from this.

"History is too superficially taught in this country," he told the educators. And putting his civilian audience in one class, and himself, with all army and navy officers, in another, he continued:

"You are the light talkers about war, not we. You know very little, and we hope that you will never know more. You can search the histories you teach and you can find no instances where the officers of the army and navy got you into war. Our business is to get you out of the wars that you get us into."

It was interesting to note that the majority of the teachers of physical training were against the introduction of military training in the schools, which Mr. C. Ward Crampton, Director of Physical Training in the New York City schools, said "is absurd from a military point of view, . . . and worse than absurd from an educator's point of view." Mr. Crampton and Mr. Thomas W. Churchill, ex-President of the New York Board of Education, both contended that military training for school-boys was not necessary for pre-

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paredness; in fact, the former went so far as to say, as quoted, that it "had nothing to do with preparedness." But the great majority of the teachers made no distinction of this sort. Those who voted for the training felt that they were voting for preparedness, and *vice versa*.

The advocates of preparedness finally won. Though the proposal itself was really a compromise one, its opponents insisted on calling it "militaristic." A year ago the emphasis was all the other way, as the following resolution, then passed, clearly indicates:

"The Association deplores any attempt to militarize this country. It again declares against the establishment of compulsory military training in the schools, on the ground that it is inconsistent with American ideals and standards."

Though the resolution on the subject passed this year sounds mild enough, it is a distinct advance in the direction of preparedness. The provision adopted in New York on this occasion is as follows:

"While it [the Association] recognizes that the community or the State may introduce such elements of military training into the schools as may seem wise and prudent, yet it believes that such training should be strictly educational in its aim and organization, and that military ends should not be permitted to pervert the educational purposes and practices of the schools."

The importance of the action taken by the teachers in New York lies in its probable influence on the public. It is doubtful if there is a newspaper or periodical in the country that equals in influence the National Education Association. If any one can mold public opinion, a teacher can do it, and the thousands of teachers at this Convention came from all over the Union. Thus far New York is the only State that has passed a law for the military education of children, and the action of the "N. E. A." is expected to have a strong effect on many State Legislatures.

But it is a question if the National Education Association is not more of a mirror of public opinion than a maker of it. Dr. Gustav Straubenmüller, Acting Superintendent of New York City's schools, says: "Public schools are thermometers reflecting the temperature of society." Thus from this point of view also the spirit of the Convention was encouraging, because, if this Convention was a reliable thermometer, American society to-day is deeply interested in the kind of education which teaches the individual to serve society. General Wood struck a popular note when he said to the teachers: "One of the things you should teach is that the individual has an obligation to the State, and that it is not only the State that has an obligation to him." Dr. Horace B. Frissell, Principal of Hampton Institute, referred to the sort of education that General Wood wants when he asked for "education which trains the heart and the hand as well as the head—education which produces faith, love, humility, service."

Dr. Frissell later stirred the Convention to applause when he quoted a colored lawyer of Boston, who said, "In education *labor* is more important than *Latin*." The Convention educators applauded that phrase as heartily as they did because it clearly summarized the spirit of these teachers. They were much more interested in *labor* than in *Latin*. When they were not busy with the routine of the Convention, they were visiting the vocational training schools of New York City which had been kept open after the usual term for their inspection. Here they saw the children of New York City studying, not Greek roots, but plumbing and carpentering. They visited the schools for the blind and the deaf and dumb; they consulted Dr. Katharine Bement Davis and Warden Thomas Mott Osborne with regard to modern methods of regenerating criminals. For every paper that was read before the Convention on a classical subject there were ten read relating to such subjects as "Public Health," "The Education of the Alien," "American Schools and the Workingman."

The teachers were not merely theorizing either. They were willing to practice what they preached. Besides passing the resolution in regard to military training, they passed a resolution indorsing woman suffrage, a resolution asking President Wilson to appoint a commission of five to investigate and report upon the condition of the rural home and the farm woman, and last, but not least, a resolution asking Congress for an appropriation of $50,000 to spread throughout America information concerning the methods of educating immigrants.

When the Convention had adjourned, hundreds of teachers enrolled in the summer schools of Columbia and New York Universities. In nearly every case they sought courses which had some practical social value, such as the course just opened at the New York University for the particular purpose

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of teaching teachers how to use the newspapers and magazines in promoting the study of civics and current events in the public schools.

There is just one salient criticism which one might make of the spirit of this Convention. The Convention was admirable in that there were no long-winded discussions of salaries and pensions, and that there were no petty quarrels; but in emphasizing the importance of teaching those subjects in the schools and colleges which fit youths and children directly for practical service to society at times there was undoubtedly a tendency to go too far.

"Learning by doing" is a good thing; but the three R's of education are still fundamental, and the education of the head must not be abandoned entirely for the education of the hand. One or two speakers before the teachers' meetings seemed to enjoy attacking anything that savored of serious scholarship. Vocational education, industrial education, and all the other manifestations of the present-day practical spirit in the school-room have come to stay. They have their proper place, and in it they are highly desirable; but they must not be permitted to crowd out all attention to intellectual training. The goal of service to society is a high aim for our teachers to take; but society wants the service of the thinker as well as the service of the doer.

GREGORY MASON.

THE A B C OF SOLDIERING

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM PLATTSBURG

IT happened that my journey to Plattsburg took me into the region from which Benedict Arnold launched his expedition against Quebec, and then through the city of Montreal. The faint echo of old wars that made memorable a quiet river valley of Maine and the sound of marching troops drilling under the shadow of historic Mount Royal supplied a sobering background for the tented city of the Plattsburg Encampment.

It was a gray day that first welcomed us to our canvas homes. The long lines of men waiting for a chance to deposit the money which their gracious Government was willing to permit them to pay in order that they might learn something of the most elemental duty of citizenship; the lines of men filing into the orderly tents to satisfy the necessary formalities which preceded the issue of equipment; the scurrying figures bearing home to their new quarters the unfamiliar burdens of rifle, canvas cot, duffle bag, and bayonet, were all impartially treated to water from the heavens above and mud from the ground below. And this same mud was not easily forgotten. For it oozed in under the walls of our tents; it supplied a generously adhesive pavement for our company streets; and clung closer than a brother to our struggling feet, mired quite deep enough as it was, in the intricacies of our first drills. It even stuck to our camp songs—witness one rolling chorus which blared forth the triumphant fact that—

"We are as happy as we can be,
For we are members of the duck family."

But that was part of the later history of the camp which has just now come to a close.

A little less than a year before it had been my privilege to watch the first Plattsburg training regiment undergoing the labors that were now in store for me and the rest of my fellow-rookies. On the former occasion I had come "for to admire and for to see" the rapid progress of the men who were then engaged in learning the A B C's of soldiering. I was told by the officers of the regular army of the phenomenally rapid progress which those civilian recruits were making in the practice of their new activity, and I came away from that first camp duly impressed with the thought that I had acquired an adequate idea of both what that advance guard of Plattsburg men had accomplished and of what was still left for them to accomplish before they could measure up to the full stature of trained soldiers.

Tested out by practical experience, I confess that during the first two weeks of the encampment my preconceived ideas underwent rapid and repeated revision. It was not that I had misunderstood the character of the work to be done or underestimated the distance which separates a Plattsburg recruit of one month's training from the finished soldier, but that I had failed to take into account the heavy handicap of the purely civil-

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ian habits of mind and body which most of us brought to Plattsburg.

Since we came as volunteers, the great bulk of us earnest and anxious to succeed, it was a painful experience for many of us to find that our success during the first weeks seemed to be in inverse ratio to our endeavor. To make my story less personal, let me try to express what seemed to be the typical experience of the men in the camp.

This experience was summed up by one prosperous rookie who in civilian life was not without a reputation for intelligence. Said he: "I know now how a man feels who is learning to write long after he has cast his first vote. It looks so simple; it is simple. Why can't I do it well?" The answer to this, as to most of the difficulties which confronted us, lay in those same civilian habits of mind and muscle to which I have already referred—those habits of inattention, that lack of mental and physical discipline, that are the heritage of the great majority of Americans. The mind and body which have always resented the necessity of accepting orders and discipline find it hard to accept orders and discipline even when they will to do so. In the all-too-brief month at their disposal, for the rookies of the Plattsburg camp it was not a question of turning mind and body into a machine that would respond automatically to certain prearranged signals; it was merely the question of acquiring enough self-control to permit mind and body to perform efficiently and intelligently the work that had to be done.

When a civilian is told to do a certain piece of work, he generally asks first to have the command repeated. He seems to feel offended if it is inferred that he should have understood an order the first time it was given. Having understood the order correctly, he then feels it his inalienable right to inquire why the order was given. After satisfying himself on this point, he sets himself to figure out an easier method of performing the work than the one which has been prescribed. In the military world there is no such large liberty of thought and action. Because each man in an army is responsible for the performance of certain definite duties, he must be able to command the obedience of the men under him just as he commands and is responsible for the work of his own hands.

To many civilians who are unfamiliar with military work the words "military discipline" mean all that is arbitrary and unreasonable. On the contrary, military discipline is the sanest and most intelligible side of a soldier's life. It is the only road which a soldier can take towards safety, success, and such comfort as he can find in the midst of his arduous duties.

The prescriptions of our life at Plattsburg began to make themselves felt within a very few hours after we arrived. It was not long before we learned that the day could be divided into a more varied assortment of duties than we had ever imagined. Our time, we found, was no longer to be classed among the possessions guaranteed to us under the Constitution, but was to be portioned out to us in accordance with the desires of the powers that were. We learned from the General Orders on our company bulletin-board that life had now resolved itself into a procession of bugle calls. Aside from responding to the following list, however, we were at liberty unless otherwise ordered:

Reveille	First call	5:45
	March	5:55
	Assembly	6:00
Mess	First call	6:25
	Assembly	6:30
Sick call		7:00
Drill	First call	7:20
	Assembly	7:30
Recall		11:30
Mess	First call	11:55
	Assembly	12:00
Instruction	First call	1.20
	Assembly	1:30
Recall		4:00
Parade	First call	4:10
	Assembly	4:20
Retreat	First call	5:10
	Assembly	5:20
Mess	First call	5:55
	Assembly	6:00
Instruction	First call	6:30
	Assembly	7:00
Recall		8:00
Call to quarters		10:00
Taps		10:30

With reveille of our first day in camp began the work of making of the one hundred and more men in each of the companies of our regiment a military team capable of acting as a unit. It was indeed a task which required nothing less than the best efforts of the splendid officers under whom we were enrolled. For a single officer to lick one hundred men into shape within a single month so that they can move about the country on their own feet, can be maneuvered in line of battle without endangering their own comrades from the fire of their rifles, and can return to camp in rain or shine with enough reserve

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strength to care for themselves and their equipment in soldierly fashion—the size of such a task can only be realized by those who have gone through the mill.

The work began, as all such work must, at the very bottom. First the movement of the soldier, then the squad, then the company, then the battalion, and, last of all, the regiment in marching array. And when our month was through most of us had acquired a very full realization of the fact that we had been introduced merely to the elementary mechanics of the work which we were trying our best to perform. Indeed, it was not until the last week of the camp, during the progress of our hike towards the Canadian border, that even these elemental mechanics of soldiering began to find an easy and ordered place in the scheme of our endeavor.

If there were some of us who did not even begin to grasp the scheme of things entire until the last week of our training, there was at least one fact brought home to us all within the first few days of the camp. This was the value and the significance of the uniform we were privileged to wear. Taken by itself, the modern military uniform is not a particularly attractive object. As a symbol of service, common purpose, and comradeship, it is as impressive as any combination of flaring colors and gold braid that ever bedecked the annals of military history.

To put a man in uniform is to supply him with the common denominator above which there stands out in black and white the numerator of his own ability. In civil life we all have denominators based on the hazards of fortune. Even in a democracy we cannot help judging men and women to a certain extent by the purely accidental denominators of the circumstances which surround them. Once in uniform, practically all that is artificial in our relations with each other disappears. Either a man is a good soldier or a bad soldier, a good comrade or a bad comrade. Against that olive-drab uniform which melts so swiftly into a protective background the personal qualities of courage, perseverance, and power stand out like trees lifted against the open sky.

To offer a discussion of the effect and value of a uniform as a vital part of a descriptive article on camp life may seem to be dodging the question; but in the social and political aspects of the Plattsburg Training Camp can be found a much truer picture of its life than in any tale of muddy roads, heavy packs, hot days on the drill ground, or cool nights in the open fields.

It is true that we drilled, we marched, we ate, we slept. We learned how to carry an Irish stew, two potatoes, bread, butter, and a lump of jam in a single dish while still preserving their separate entities. We learned how to sleep like a log under a pocket-handkerchief of a tent pitched in a stubble field. We learned, some of us, to put a bullet from our rifle in a twenty-inch circle at six hundred yards, and we learned how to keep that rifle a great deal cleaner than fate permitted us to keep ourselves. Between a bath and a clean rifle there is but one choice for a soldier. We learned from confidential inquiry that every company in camp was commanded by the best captain in the United States army. This sounds a bit incredible, but you can verify the statement by inquiry from any man who attended Plattsburg in the muddy month of June. We learned that three blankets can be folded to make a sleeping-bag fit for a king, or even a first sergeant. We learned (but this was extra-curriculum information) that fifty wild-strawberry shortcakes covered with whipped cream, sold by three girls to a regiment of more than one thousand men, will go into that regiment a great deal less than once and nothing over. This fact was mathematically demonstrated during our hike.

We did not learn, for most of us were convinced of the fact before we ever went to Plattsburg, that soldiering is a business that can be learned in a single day, a single month, or a single year.

We did not learn of any short cut to National safety and self-respect other than that which leads through universal obligation in return for universal privilege. We did not learn how to undertake the work of a finished officer, but we learned that even in the A B C's of military training can be found a wealth of health and social discipline which has too long been withheld from the citizens of our Republic. If the Plattsburg Encampment never contributes a soldier or an officer to the United States army, it will have more than justified its existence by the political and social education of those who have lived within its canvas walls. The Plattsburg idea is still young; its opportunities for service in the future are limited only by the courage, vision, and critical understanding of the American people.

HAROLD T. PULSIFER.

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THE NATIONS AT WAR

THE OUTCOME FOR TURKEY

BY HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS

THE rise and fall of a great empire is an awesome thing. When one can view it as a whole in a great book like Gibbon's, one can obtain a sense of its epic grandeur; but, as we live a year at a time, it is harder to view it largely.

We are looking now upon the fall of a mighty empire. It has shrunk and decayed within our time until many of us view it with contempt, and wish that the Sick Man would hasten his slow demise; yet the tragedy is none the less for our impatient view of it.

The Allies' armies are now indirectly threatening Constantinople, and the campaigns in the Near East are drawing a breathless interest from Western observers.

Constantinople is, of course, much more than the capital of Turkey; Roman, Byzantine, Macedonian, it has survived the fall of three empires and will survive the fall of the Ottoman. Constantinople cannot die, but Stamboul, the heart of Turkish conquest, the Sublime Porte, the City of the Sultans, can go the way of ancient Athens and Rome.

There is little doubt in my mind that the impulse to the present war was given in the revolution of 1908 in Turkey; and perhaps the greatest change wrought in Europe by that war will be the change in the ownership of Constantinople and the fall of Turkey.

What is the significance of the fall of Turkey? Is there any justice in it? Let us consider the abstract question of what confers the right on one nation rather than another to rule over a given territory.

The old answer to this question was conquest, might. It was by this right that the Turks entered Europe, and it is by this right that all of the Powers are where they are. There is a school of political scientists to-day who claim that the sword decides rightly all questions of possession. Judged by this right of the sword, the Turks can claim their extensive Empire just so long as they can hold it, and no longer.

A more modern contention is that every nation has a right to its own government—one that shall consider its nationalism, its religion, and its culture. That is the claim put forth by the Poles, the Finns, the Bulgarians, the Servians, and other small nationalities.

On this basis the Turkish Empire should break up, for Turkey has probably the most heterogeneous and least assimilated population within any one state.

The Ottoman Empire, like the Austrian, consists of a conquering race and successive conquered peoples whom it has taken into the Empire *en bloc* and whom it has never assimilated. Such peoples are the Greeks or Byzantines who originally ruled in the Bosphorus, the Armenians who occupied a large part of Asia Minor, the Arabs and Syrians to the south, the Slavs in Macedonia and northwards, the Jews in Palestine, and numerous smaller groups. These people represent three great religions—Hebraism, Christianity, and Islamism—with many churches and seats of Christianity, a dozen different languages, and as many cultures; and, unlike Austria and Russia, Turkey has made almost no effort to unify her population.

When Mohammed the Conqueror took Constantinople in 1453, he brought a small population of Turks into a large population of Christians and Jews. Although many Greeks left Constantinople, many more remained and occupied a special quarter known as the Phanar; and the Greek islands and Greece itself remained entirely populated by that people of mixed race, the modern Greek. The Turks themselves are hardly a distinct race, certainly not in our day; but they are very distinct in their culture, and within the Empire are always distinguished by their religion. When Slavic tribes in what is now Bosnia became converts to Islam, they became Turks, usually adopting Turkish names and acquiring all the Turkish privileges and military responsibilities and opportunities, for no real opportunity—military or civil—has ever been open in Turkey to a man who resolutely remained a Christian. But very many of the great generals and officials, even Grand Viziers, have been Christians by birth, and the famous and formidable army of the Janissaries was entirely made up of Christian children who

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH BY PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE

GENERAL FOCH

The French commander who in co-operation with the British forces drove back the German lines along the Somme River. See The Story of the War

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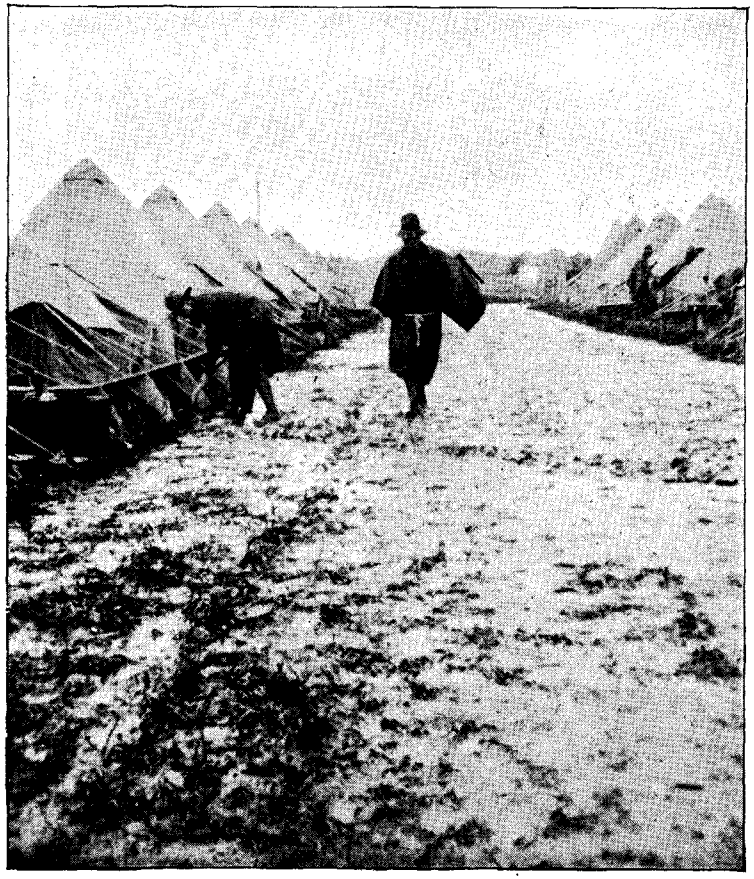
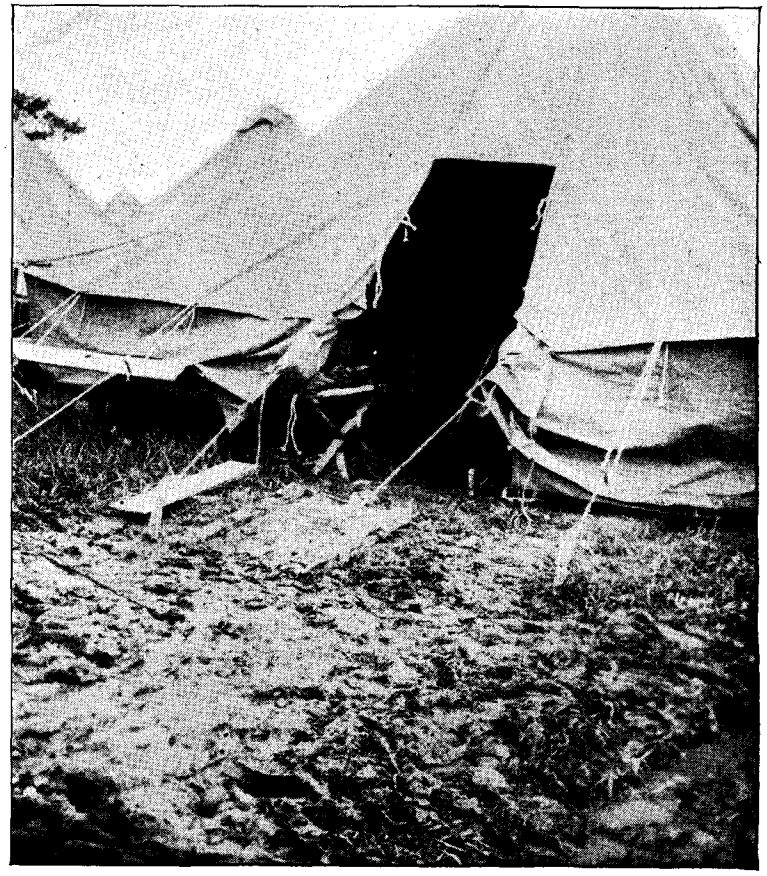


A COMPANY STREET AFTER A RAINY DAY



THE ARMY TENT WHICH SHELTERS EIGHT MEN

THE PLATTSBURG ENCAMPMENT

See the article elsewhere in this issue by The Outlook's staff correspondent at Plattsburg

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UNITED STATES REGULARS IN MEXICO

A group of soldiers of the expeditionary force sorting mail from home in the open field

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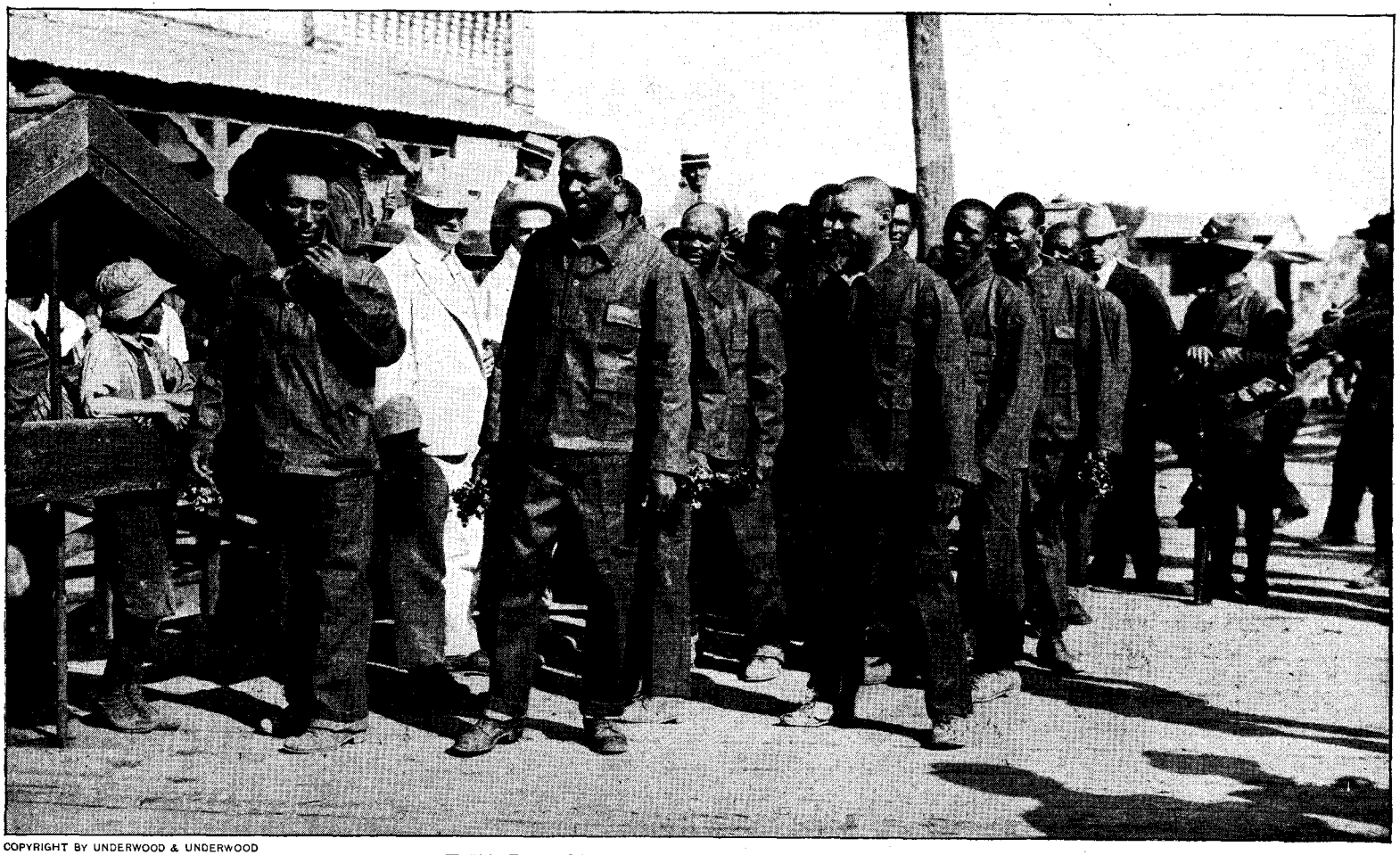

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THE PRISONERS RETURNED BY MEXICO

These colored soldiers of the United States Tenth Cavalry were taken prisoners in the battle at Carrizal, Mexico. The picture shows the released troopers at El Paso, ready to join their comrades. They were delivered up by Mexico half naked, half starved, and infested with vermin. Here they appear clean, clothed, and bearing bouquets of flowers presented to them on American soil

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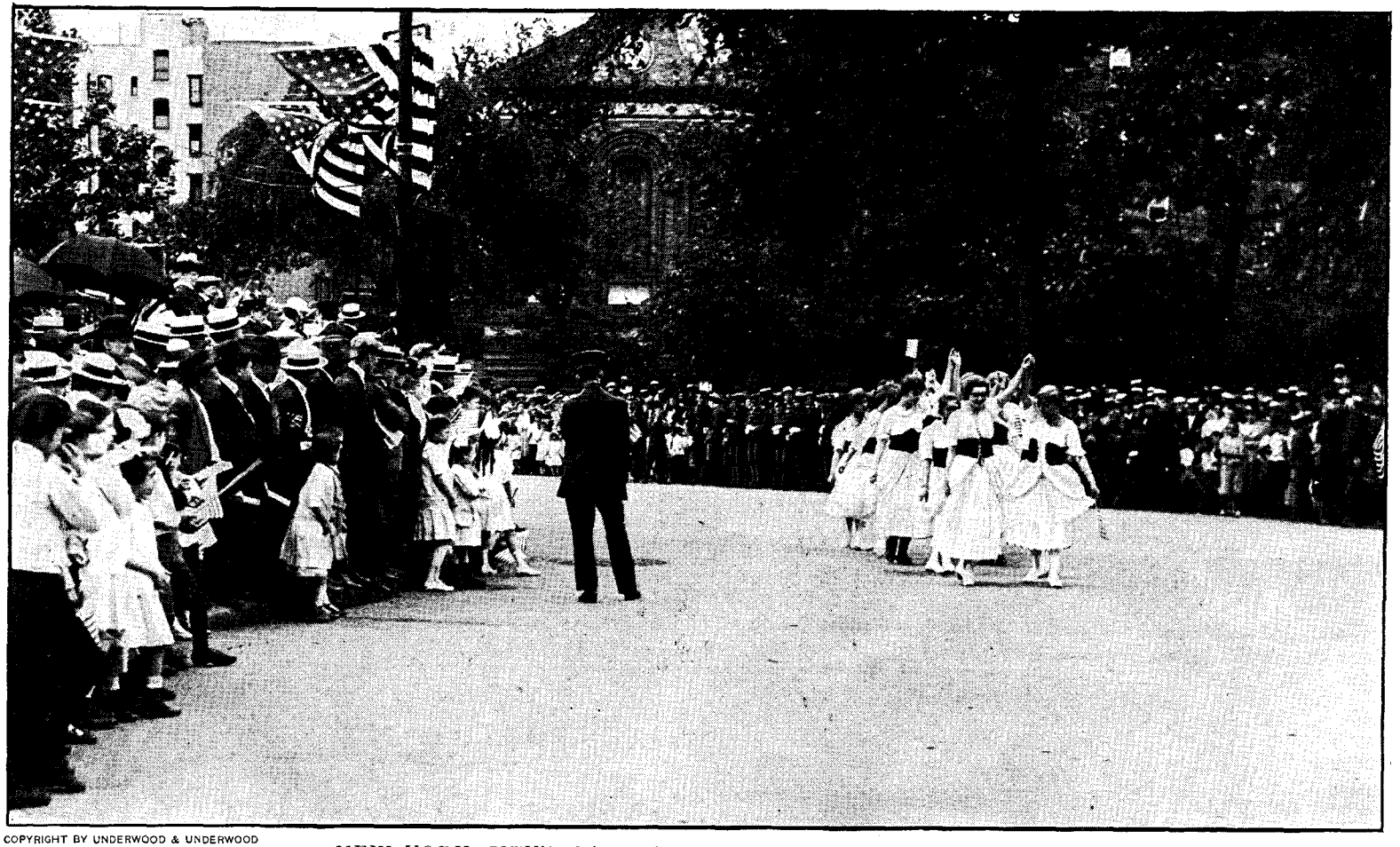

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NEW YORK CITY'S SAFE AND SANE INDEPENDENCE DAY

Here is illustrated the celebration in Washington Square under the auspices of the Mayor's Independence Day Committee, which arranged, in various parts of the city, open-air pageants in which the children of the neighborhood participated

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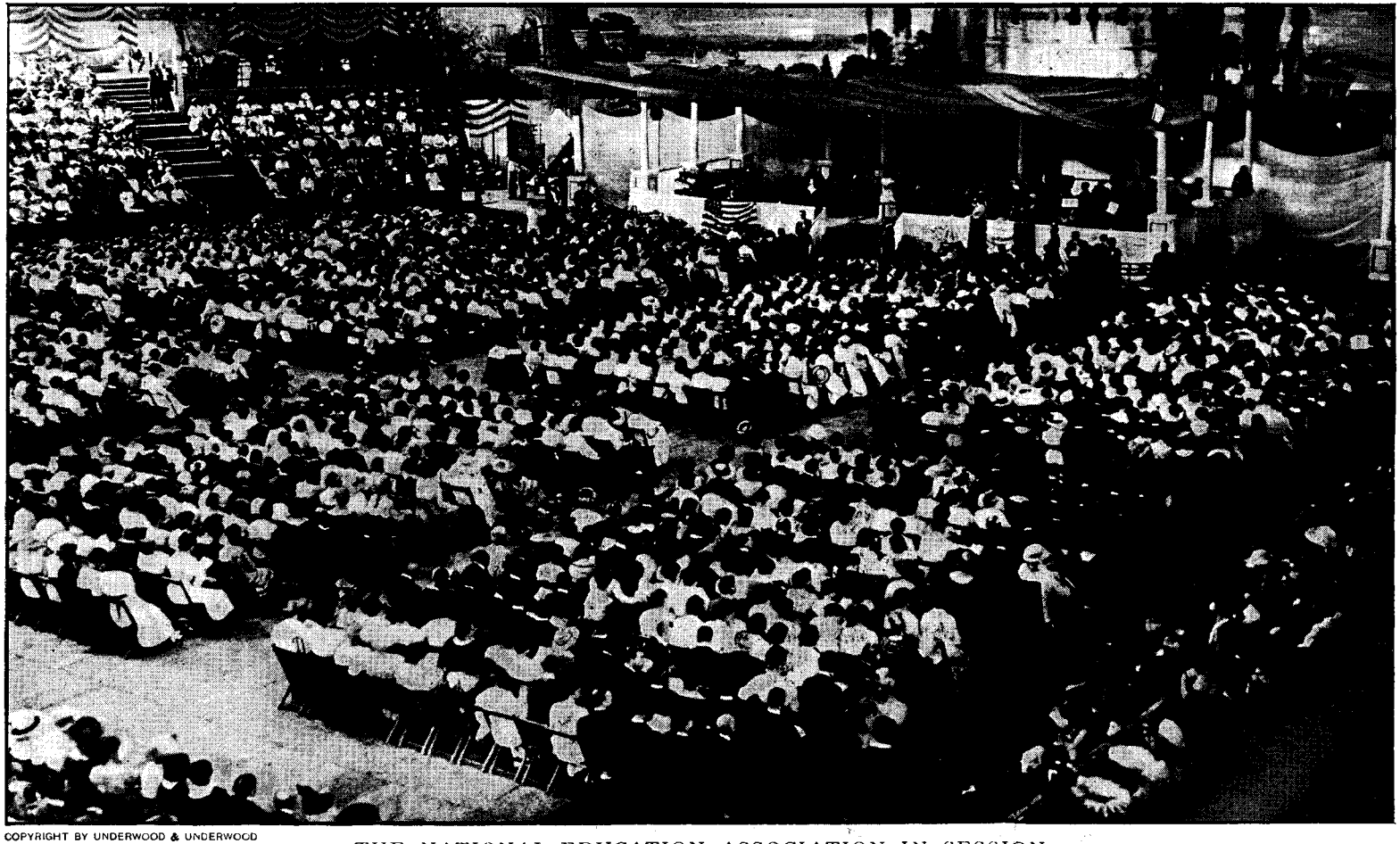

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THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION IN SESSION

The annual meeting took place this year in New York (Madison Square Garden) for the first time in over fifty years. An account of the meeting will be found elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook

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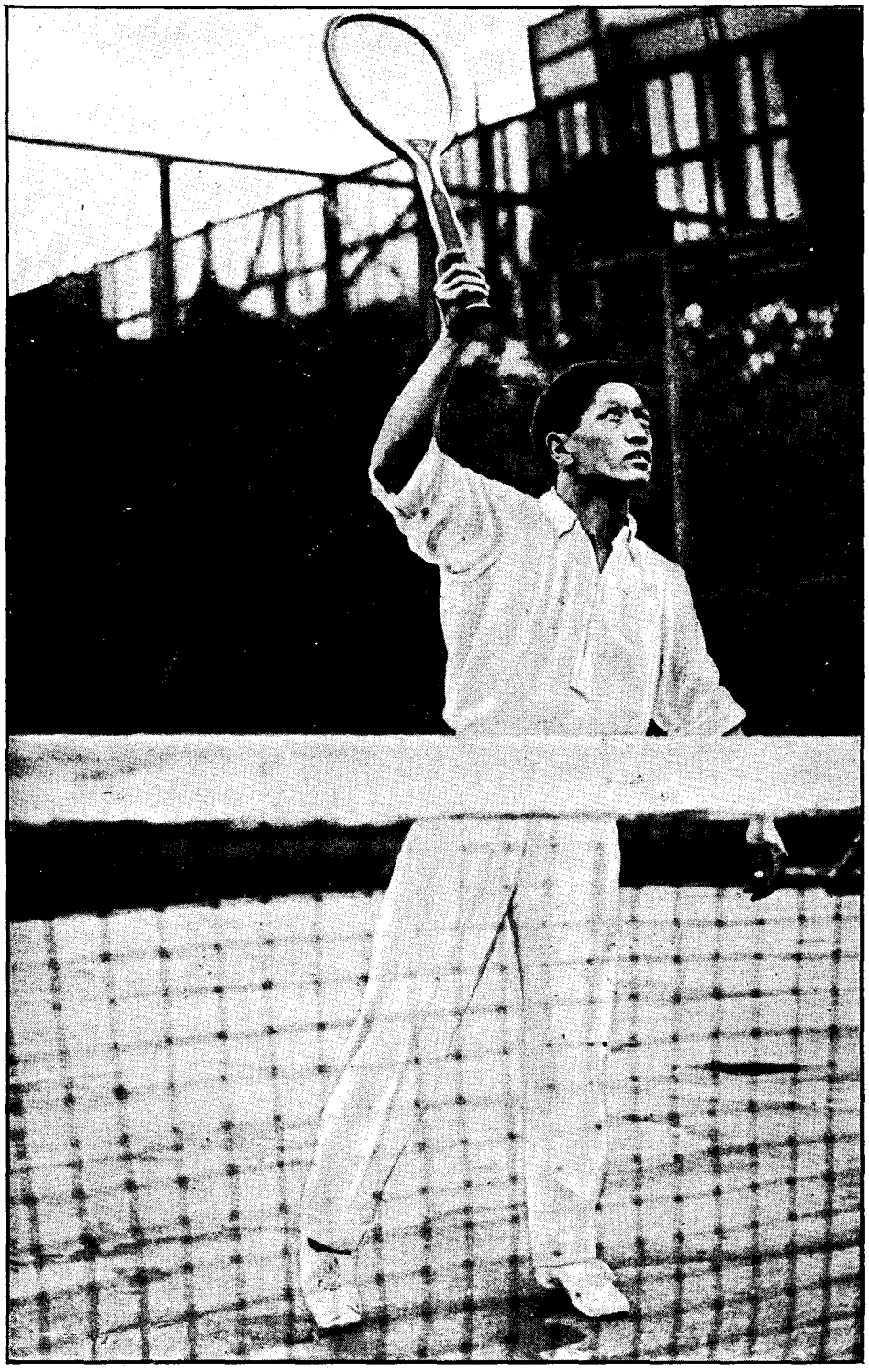

A JAPANESE TENNIS PLAYER, HACHISHIRE MIKAMI

With his fellow-countryman, Ichiye Kumagai, Mr. Mikami defeated Van Repperd and Gautier, of St. Louis, for the Central States Doubles title. The score was 6–1, 6–3, 6–1. Mr. Kumagai also won the Central States Singles, defeating Roland Hoerr, the former champion, 6–3, 6–3, 6–2

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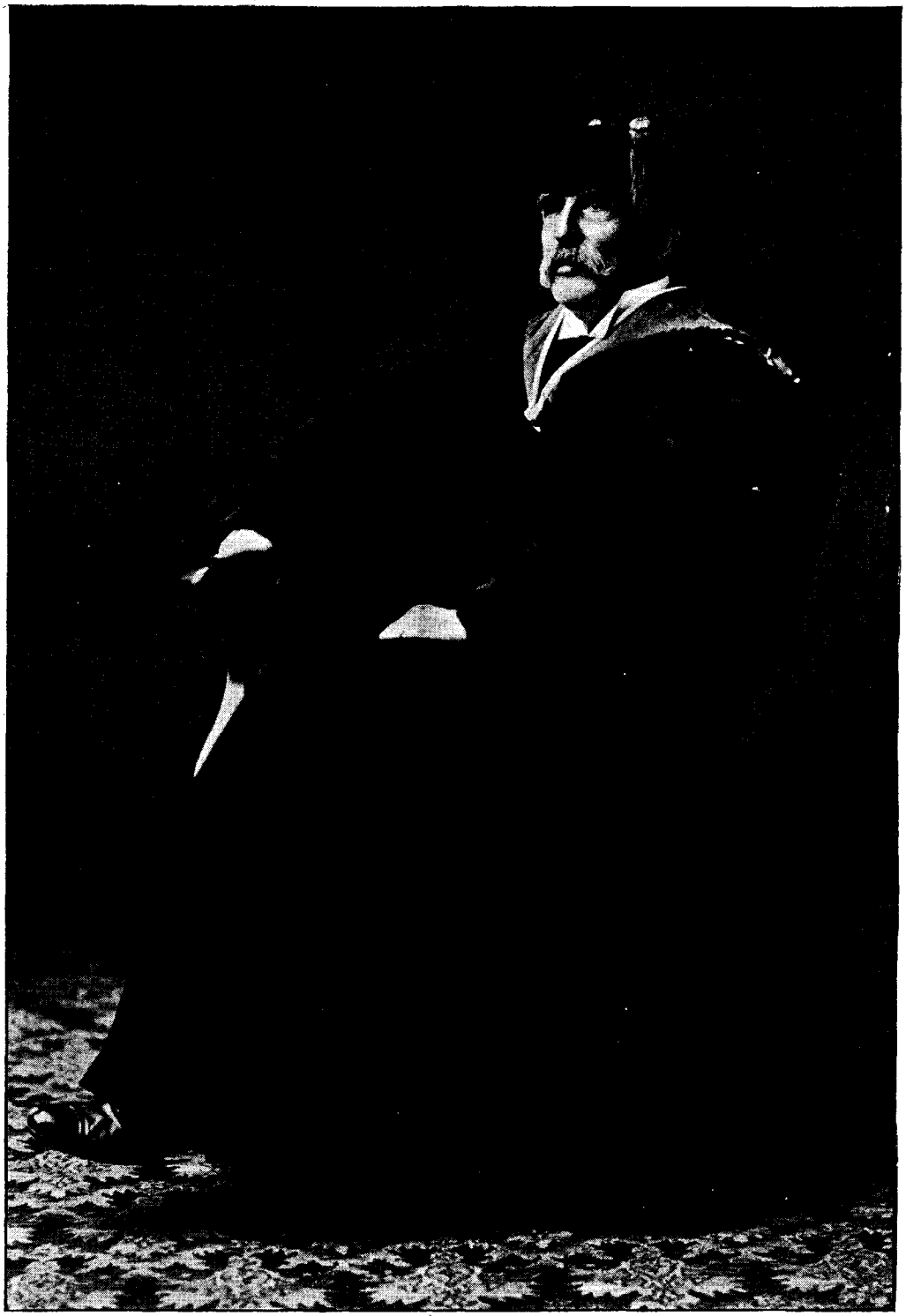

PHOTOGRAPH BY A. J. RICHARDS

GEORGE KENNAN

Mr. Kennan received the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Rochester at its recent Commencement. Elsewhere in this issue will be found some account of Mr. Kennan's notably interesting life, his achievements in Siberia and Russia, his literary work, and his services as a special correspondent

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were forcibly converted by the Moslems. But outside of the large numbers of non-Moslems who adopted Islam for policy, ambition, or conviction, there still remained an enormous non-Mohammedan population in Turkey.

The basis of Turkish law being the Koran, and the administrators of law being the *imams*, or priestly class, how could non-Moslems fit into it? They could not; they must somehow be governed separately.

According to Islam, the whole world is divided into the House of Islam and the House of War. It is not necessary to slay all unbelievers, but instead they may be subjected to tribute. But in each case the question was how to govern them. Certainly upon the unbeliever cannot be conferred the precious gift of Moslem law.

Mohammed II, facing that problem, found precedents within the conquered Empire itself.

Under the Greek Empire and in Syria during the Crusades foreigners were permitted to form colonies which were governed by their own laws and administered by their own magistrates. The ruler of the territory conceded only the privilege of residing within it. What is now regarded as at least an equally valuable concession—namely, that foreigners should be governed by their own magistrates—was not considered by emperors or sultans as a privilege. It was an obligation imposed on them as a condition upon which they enjoyed the privilege of residing in a foreign country. The Moslems were like all ancient peoples in regarding their laws as sacred, not to be conferred on outsiders.

When Mohammed II took Constantinople, he found on the opposite shore of the Golden Horn two flourishing colonies, the Genoese and the Venetian, governed by their own laws and subject to their own dukes. This gave Mohammed the clue to the government of his own *rayahs*, or non-Moslem subjects. They should continue to obey their own laws and follow their own customs, although subject to Turkish financial control—indeed, heavily under Turkish despotism. All of the Christian communities were separated into *millets*, or religious administrative divisions, were allowed to worship in their own fashion, and were represented at the Porte by the head of their own Church—Exarch, Patriarch, or Catholicos. Thus the patriarchate became an important political office, and the *millet* became a political division, and the Christian churches became so political in character that they tended to suffer greatly spiritually.

Mohammed II, in allowing his conquered peoples to retain their own customs, tongues, laws, and churches, displayed a tolerance that few Christian rulers can match, but it has resulted in an absolutely disunified Empire. No Christian subject calls himself a Turk, nor speaks the Turkish language as his own, nor adopts the Turkish religion. None of them feels any loyalty to Turkey or its rulers. The people despise and hate each other, do not intermarry, and live in separate villages.

Besides these conquered peoples there were always, and still are, foreign colonies in Turkey to which a similar policy has been applied. It began with the Genoese and the Venetians whom Mohammed II found on the Golden Horn. He confirmed with them some treaties that the Byzantine Emperor had made with them, called capitulations or *capituli*, because arranged in little chapters. In the next century the Turkish Sultan gave such capitulations to the French who wished to live and trade in Turkey, and these were gradually extended until all foreign countries received them. The Turkish law has been considered unsuitable to any foreign subject, although in our day it has been so modified that all that would concern a foreigner is based, not on the Koran, but on the Code Napoleon.

Turkey is not the only country that has granted exterritoriality to foreign residents. All of the Oriental nations have done so. But as these nations have adopted Western civilization they have resented the idea that their law is not a sufficient protection to all residents, and have tried to abrogate the capitulations. One by one the nations have succeeded in doing this, until in 1914 there were only two nations still under the somewhat humiliating agreement, Turkey and Morocco. The change involves some financial loss, for the foreign nations have pushed for all sorts of advantages under the "most-favored-nation clause," and have set up their own post-offices in Turkish port cities. In 1914 there were in Constantinople an Austrian, a British, a French, a Russian, a German, and an Italian post-office, each with a fair revenue which should have been Turkish. When Turkey set up a Constitution in 1908, she asked to have the capitulations abrogated, but was refused. This war gave her the opportunity, and she naturally took it.

But if, on the modern theory of the rights of nationalities, Turkey cannot claim the right

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to rule her alien population, she can claim the right to rule herself. And if this war results in the break-up of the Empire, the Powers ought surely to leave the Turks in a kingdom of their own where they can develop their peculiar culture, follow their own religion and customs, and work out their salvation as best they may—for Turks object to Christian rule as ardently as Christians object to Moslem rule. During the Balkan wars hundreds of Moslems left comfortable Macedonian homes and trekked back to Asia Minor, where they might live under Moslem rule; and when the majority of the Cretans were clamoring to join Greece, a strong cry went up from the Cretan Moslems to be allowed to stay under their coreligionists.

I have spoken of two claims to government as conquest and nationality. A third, a still more modern conception, is beneficent occupation. He shall rule a country who can rule it best. This as a working rule is difficult, for all would not agree as to whether a country would be best ruled, for example, by Persians or Russians, English or Germans. But as an ideal it gives us at least a standard of judgment.

Has Turkish occupation of southern Europe and Asia Minor been beneficent?

Constantinople fell in 1453, and for a century the rule of the Turks was abler and stronger than that of any European Power. Let us analyze the government briefly.

The Ottoman Turkish state was a despotism, limited and supported by the Mohammedan Sacred Law. The Sultan's power rested actually and immediately in his military might. He was the war lord and general of his troops, who owed their allegiance, not to the country, but to him. He also was the head of the Church—that is, he was Caliph of the Mohammedan world, thus wielding an enormously wide influence as defender and executor of the Islamic law as well as defender of the faith. The Sultan had the lawmaking power.

As suzerain of all the land, he was feudal lord over all landholders. There has never been any nobility in Turkey; there is a hierarchy of privileged officials, all of military rank, who may be degraded at any moment. The usual term of a great official was "slave of the Sultan," and, in fact, the monarchy consisted of one magnificent all-powerful lord and millions of slaves. The country was divided into vilayets, in which the governing pasha might maintain a private despotism of his own

This, we see, is a mediæval government. In the sixteenth century Turkey was better organized and governed and more powerful than almost any other state in Europe. But as the western states became modernized and enlightened Turkey continued to be barred by this anachronistic government. In course of time militarism became unendurable, and Mahmoud II, in the early nineteenth century, had the all-powerful Janissary army trapped and massacred in the Hippodrome. But a new army was organized, and militarism, although modified, continued. Such is the government of Turkey. The year 1908 modified it nominally, but changed it very little in fact. The magnanimous and lofty revolution of 1908 represents the ideals of the best Turks; that their ideals have been drowned in the sea of politics since that time is due to the fact that Turkey is not ready for self-government and that she, like most other communities, is not governed by her best people.

Such as it is, has Turkish government been beneficent to (1) the land; (2) the conquerors; (3) the conquered?

Not to the land.

Turkey is very rich in mineral resources, but these have never been developed—in fact, their development has been forbidden by governmental policy. The taxation has been so high that farmers have feared to raise crops, and have cut down their valuable olive and fruit trees because they could not afford to keep them. Mines have been unworked, lack of transportation and of freedom to travel have made commerce a farce, agriculture is unintelligent and ill rewarded. As a Turkish poet wrote:

"O country so fertile, to nature's heart dear,
Though gifted, thou art hungry and barren to sear."

Turkish government has not been beneficent to the conquerors.

The Turks have not been well governed themselves. They have had only a little more liberty than their subject peoples. They have been dogged by spies, not allowed to travel, hampered in all industry and trade, forced into the army, and given neither order, protection, nor chance for development.

Has Turkish government been beneficent to the conquered?

Let us take the Armenians, not as a type, but as the worst illustration of Turkish mis-

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government. The Armenians are an Aryan race, inhabiting originally a kingdom of three hundred thousand square miles of fertile table-land extending from the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains to Persia and Syria.

Into their soil they have put down deep roots, their civilization being almost co-terminous with recorded history. They begin their history with the Garden of Eden, which they claim was in Armenia, and they find their first recorded ancestors in the Book of Genesis. They were a distinct people as early as 1000 B.C. But their highest civilization and independence was in the early Middle Ages.

Their Church, the Gregorian, is the oldest of Christian churches, dating from 310 A.D., fifteen years before the Council of Nicea. The Armenians boast of a golden age in literature in the ninth century, when for a brief cycle of fifty years their writers burst into poetry and song, leaving a precious heritage to their descendants.

The Armenian Kingdom was absorbed into the Byzantine Empire, and when the Turks conquered Byzantium they, in turn, became rulers of the Armenians.

Turkey governed very well, as governments went, in the first centuries of her rule, and the Armenians were not unhappy. They were not admitted to the army, paying a head tax instead; but many of their men, cleverer than the Turks in finance, became advisers to royalty. The Armenians formed the body of industrious farmers in Asia Minor; they were useful business men in the coast cities, where they won respect and envy for their wealth. They were loyal citizens to Turkey, but never have become converted to Islam, nor have they voluntarily intermarried with the Turk. There is little, if any, racial antagonism between Armenians and Turks. Had religion and politics never come in to antagonize them, they would have lived together in essential harmony. The Armenians are very Oriental.

The Armenian question appeared when Russia, Persia, and Turkey divided ancient Armenia among them in the fifteenth century. Russia promptly adopted a policy of "protection" for the *rayahs* of the Ottoman Empire, at first her coreligionists, the Orthodox Christians, and later including the Armenians. At the treaty of San Stefano, which ended the Russo-Turkish War in 1878, the grievances of the Armenians were definitely formulated, and Russia engaged to carry out "reforms" for their benefit. No reforms were, however, introduced, and the appeals of the Armenians never succeeded in moving the Powers to effective action. All that the Powers accomplished by talk about "reforms" was sharply to irritate the Turkish Sultan against his Armenian subjects, until he began a definite policy of massacre against these harmless and useful citizens. The massacres of 1895–6 and the massacre at Van in 1908 are some of the familiar examples of this policy. Their purpose seems to have been to reduce the number of Armenians and to take possession of their property. This policy naturally drove the law-abiding Armenians into revolutionary societies which worked for the downfall of Abdul Hamid or for the freeing of Armenian provinces.

Besides the massacres the Armenians suffered from unfair taxation and an iniquitous system of tax-farming, from utter failure of justice, constant attacks and depredations from the fierce Kurds, wretched and unsafe transportation, and the thousand hindrances of a despotic government. No Armenian was safe as to his life, his property, nor the honor of his women.

When the revolution of 1908 overthrew that abominable tyrant Abdul Hamid II, the Armenians rejoiced greatly, and were touching in their faith to the Young Turk party. But again they suffered in the counter-revolution of 1909.

When the present war broke out, the Armenians, completely discouraged by the failure of the Young Turk party to secure a fair government for them, went over to Russia, as many as could do so, and helped the Russians in the Caucasus campaigns. How far that caused the recent horrible massacre of nearly a whole nation it would be hard to tell, but the Young Turk is hopelessly stained with the blood of slaughtered Armenians.

No, the Turks cannot claim to have exercised beneficent occupation. On that score they deserve to lose their Empire. The illustration afforded by Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia of how a country may grow and develop when freed from Turkey is sufficient proof of the inadequacy of Turkish government.

Nations do not, of course, fall because they have failed to rule well; they do not sink of their weight; they must have enemies, and be attacked. But Turkey has such enemies. Russia has cast greedy eyes on Constantinople for two centuries; England and France,

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once Turkey's friends, have definitely joined the ranks of her enemies; and Germany, who pretends to be the ally and friend of Turkey, is quietly swallowing the Empire.

Whether the Central Powers or the Entente Allies win in this war, Turkey is sure to fall. The Empire cannot remain intact, although it is possible and, to my mind, desirable that the Turks be left a small country to bring up to modern standards if they can. Germany rules at present in the Ottoman Empire, and she will never let go of the prize unless she is conquered by the Allies. In the latter case, Constantinople may fall to Russia, and it may be governed by an international administration, but Turkey will be divided—the Sick Man will die.

No one who has lived in Turkey and has seen the hopeful revolution of 1908 can fail to be saddened by the sight of so great a fall. The greatest Turkish poet, Tewfik Fikret Bey, scored the Hamidian Government in a poem called "Mists of Constantinople." He hoped great things from the revolution, but was bitterly disappointed, and last winter, his great heart broken by Turkey's tears and sorrows, he died. His poem ends with words that might be said over the grave of the Ottoman Empire:

"Arena of horrors, yet majesty's stage;
O glorious setting for tragedy's rage!
Thou of greatness and pomp at once cradle and grave;
Queen eternally luring, the Orient thy slave.
Oh, within the deep Marmora's azure embrace
As one dead sleepest thou, whilst her waves thee enlace.
O laws but tradition, O tyranny 'neath
Whose oppression no safety nor right but to breathe!
Thou debauched of the ages, sleep on till mists fall,
Veil thyself, O thou Tragedy, O City, veil!"

WHAT AMERICA THINKS

A REMINISCENCE AND A CONTRAST

BY W. H. H. STOWELL

MEMBER OF THE FORTY-SECOND, FORTY-THIRD, AND FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESSES, FROM VIRGINIA

I SPENT about three months in the summer and fall of 1898 in Paris. At that time negotiations for peace were being carried on between the American and Spanish Governments, for which purpose there was a suspension of hostilities. There was a prolonged disagreement over the terms before the treaty of peace was finally signed, and the American people became very impatient at the delay. The newspapers were filled with editorials insisting that if Spain did not sign the treaty as proposed by the American Commission then hostilities ought to be resumed and Spain should be forced to sign.

There were many causes for this delay, and various propositions were being made to the Commissioners, for all of the nations of Europe were intensely interested and some of them were playing the diplomatic game. Chief among the causes was the interposition of Germany, who was very anxious to gratify her ambition to acquire colonies, and in furtherance of it proposed to Spain that Germany should purchase the Philippines and pay for them. This proposition was very objectionable to France and Italy, and especially so to England, all of whom were busy at that time absorbing territory in Africa, and objected very strenuously to having Germany acquire such an important strategical position in the Pacific as the Philippines, and who, in order to prevent Germany from acquiring the islands, insisted that the United States, having taken them by conquest, should hold them *as was customary*, although at that time President McKinley and the American people were opposed to the policy of acquiring distant territory inhabited by an undesirable people. Finally, however, in order to preserve the equilibrium in the Far East and to avoid future wars, the United States decided to keep the Philippines as conquered territory, but left it to the future to determine what disposition it would make of them. The attitude of Admiral Diedrich and of Germany towards Admiral Dewey and America at the time Manila was captured doubtless influenced this decision.

The American Commission had its head-

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quarters at the Continental Hotel, and, as I was acquainted with the members of the Commission, I used frequently to drop in of an evening with Beriah Wilkins, of the Washington "Post," to find out what was going on. My most intimate friend on the Commission was Cushman Davis, the Senator from Minnesota, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and a neighbor of mine in St. Paul whom I had known for forty years. He was also Chairman of the Peace Commission, so I was pretty well informed about all the wire-pulling that was going on at that time, none of which, however, appeared in the final treaty, which was a simple, cold-blooded statement of final results.

A few days after the treaty was signed I started on a trip around the world. I went from Paris to Marseilles to intercept the P. and O. steamer Egypt, bound for the Suez and India and China. At that time the only European train running a dining-car was the through express from Paris to Rome, which we boarded about five o'clock in the afternoon. The car was of American build, with small tables for two persons on one side and larger tables for four on the other. When we entered the car, the tables were all taken except one of the larger ones. My wife sat on one side, next to the window, and I opposite to her, also next to the window. Soon afterwards a gentleman and lady came in, and he took the seat next to me and she sat next to my wife. We soon entered into conversation, and when he found out that I was an American he commenced at once to launch into the subject of the war.

There was no doubt about her nationality, for she had the broadest kind of an English accent. Naturally, I supposed him to be English also, but it puzzled me to decide from what part of England he came. He spoke with grammatical precision, but had a peculiar accent. He evidently was not Irish, as he had nothing of the brogue about him. I thought at first he was a Welshman, then concluded he must have come from Cornwall, then from Lancaster, then Yorkshire, and finally settled in my mind that he was a Scotchman. He said: "All of us over here in Europe have been intensely interested in your war with Spain. First, because it marks your entrance into world politics, and, second, because it will change the methods of diplomacy. Measured by results, it must be regarded as one of the world's great wars."

Recalling to mind my personal memory of the long and bloody Crimean, our own Civil, and the Franco-Prussian Wars, it seemed absurd, in comparison, to call our little trouble with Spain, where only fifteen thousand men were landed at Santiago and only a few score were killed and wounded, anything more than a skirmish, and I so expressed myself.

He replied: "The importance of a battle is not in the number engaged, nor even in the number slaughtered, but lies rather in the results that follow. The Battle of Waterloo was one of the decisive battles of the world, for it changed the face of the whole of Europe, yet the forces engaged were insignificant in numbers in comparison with those employed in other battles which were without important results. The total number of English troops fighting under Wellington at Waterloo was less than the total number of casualties at your Battle of Gettysburg. Though the forces employed in your Spanish War were small, the results of the war were important in that they will bring America into an active participation in the affairs of the world and have changed the methods of diplomacy.

"Hitherto the whole purpose of diplomacy has been to make a treaty capable of two constructions, and the successful diplomat is he who can so word his treaty as to deceive the other man—so he can satisfy the other side *when the treaty is made and signed* that it means one thing, and so he can afterwards construe it to mean another thing whenever some future occasion arises that makes it for his selfish interest to do so. Thus it happens that every treaty ever made has been repudiated or broken. But America has apparently changed all this. In her treaty she says in straight language exactly what she means, and will stick to it.

"We have known very little about you. You have been over on your side of the world and have held aloof from all entangling alliances and have attended to your own affairs and have insisted that Europe should have nothing to do with American politics on the American continent and have studiously avoided taking any part in the politics of Europe or of the outside world. We knew that you were a progressive people with a vast population, great activity, and large wealth; and that was practically all we knew about you, except that you had an insignificant army of only about twenty thousand

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men. The general impression over here in Europe was, when the war broke out, that it would take you at least two years to conquer Spain. We knew that Spain had an army of about two hundred and fifty thousand men, well drilled and equipped, with about one-half of it over in Cuba. When your President called for two hundred and fifty thousand men, we thought you would have to enlist them, then drill them, then clothe and arm them, and that it would take you at least a year to get them in a thoroughly seasoned condition, and the general impression was that it would take you about another year to overcome Spain. I told them differently. I had no idea that you were going to do it inside of three months, but I knew, with your vast resources, it would not take two years. I thought it would take about a year. My reason for thinking so was that, in consequence of my profession, I had made a thorough study of your Civil War, and so I felt sure that you would accomplish your object in much less time than was generally supposed.

"When two armies equal in numbers join in battle, if they are of a different nationality and characteristics, they have a different fighting capacity, which I call their breaking strain. Each nation has its own breaking strain—that is, each one will fight until a certain percentage are killed and wounded, when it surrenders, having reached the end of its breaking strain. The weaker nation yields first; consequently the one with the stronger breaking strain has not been tested to its full capacity. Now in your Civil War you were of the same blood and the same race—a race noted for its tenacity and for fighting best when most desperately pressed—and the breaking strain of both sides was equal; consequently, when you engaged in battle, both sides fought up to the full extent of their breaking strain, and the records of your Civil War show that the proportion of killed and wounded in your battles was greater than that of any other war in the history of the world, including the battles of Napoleon."

I saw at once that I was talking with a very interesting and well informed man, and after we had finished our dinner we adjourned to my compartment, where we continued the conversation until after midnight.

Over in Europe it was the universal custom for every nation to keep all the territory it conquered. They believed that we would do the same. They *would* not understand how we could do otherwise, and did not believe us when we said we would establish Cuba as a free and sovereign nation. My friend was extremely anxious to know what we were going to do with the Philippines. I replied that we had officially announced as our policy that we would keep Porto Rico as one of our possessions, and that we would take Cuba away from Spain and rehabilitate it and set it up as an independent nation, and that we would decide in the future what we would do with the Philippines; that that was a country which had come into our possession unexpectedly and largely against our wishes, and that we would have to consider the matter very seriously before deciding what to do with it; that our general policy was against annexing any alien or undesirable people who were not fitted for citizenship, and that we had no desire to control them for the purpose of exploiting them.

He insisted all through the conversation that the Spanish-American War had brought us into the family of nations; that we could not remain isolated any longer, but must take our part in the affairs of the world. I controverted that idea quite earnestly, having always thoroughly believed that it was our policy to avoid any entangling alliances, especially with the European nations; that we had the Monroe Doctrine, which prohibits any nation from acquiring any new territory on the American continent, either North or South, and that, as a corollary to that, we would abstain from taking any part whatever in any of the quarrels of Europe. We argued it very earnestly, but he persisted in saying that we could not help ourselves; that it was inevitable that we should mix up in the affairs of Europe and of the world; and, finally, after the habit of Europeans when they get very earnest, he came up quite close to me, not more than a foot away, and, holding his finger within an inch of my nose and shaking it vigorously up and down by way of emphasis, said: "Let me tell you one thing: that in the future, when any question arises anywhere in the world in which the nations of Europe are interested, they will look each other in the eye and ask, 'What does America think of that?'"

When we parted for the night, he said: "I have enjoyed this conversation very much indeed, and I hope to meet you again. If you ever come to Rome, look me up. Here is my card."

It was General Ricciotti Garibaldi!

You can imagine my surprise upon learn-

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ing the identity of my fellow-traveler, for in all the annals of Europe since the days of Napoleon there has been no greater name to conjure with than that of Garibaldi, whether in Italy or out of it; none that kindles more of enthusiasm blended with a touch of romance and chivalry. It is a symbol of glorious patriotism, of allegiance to the highest principles, and of devotion to the loftiest traditions throughout the long struggle of the common people during the last one hundred and forty years to secure for themselves an enlarged share in dictating the policy and in administering the affairs of their own Government. The name is without a parallel in the history of the world for zealous and consistent fighting in behalf of liberty and humanity, both in the forum of debate and on the field of battle, at home and abroad.

The life of the Liberator—Giuseppe Garibaldi—is an epitome of the struggle of Italy for independence and unity. For many years the Kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia and the many minor principalities into which Italy was then divided had been engaged in constant wars to recover Venice and the Trentino from the Austrians and to overthrow the temporal power of the Pope, and Garibaldi was the fighting life of these movements. To sustain the Papacy France kept a permanent "army of occupation" in Rome. Defeated, Garibaldi had to leave Italy, and for a while made his home in America. I think few Americans realize the vital importance of the part Garibaldi played in the final success of the Union cause in our Civil War.

We all know that slavery was the igniting spark that caused the conflagration, but back of it all was a principle. The South contended that the Union was a mutual contract and that under the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 any State had the right to secede. There was a large basis of truth in its doctrine of States' rights. The North contended that the Union was indissoluble, that no State *could* secede; individuals might go, but the State remained; that the disturbances were simply riots and rebellions; that, in principle, however great the number engaged in rebellion, the State itself was still in and a part of the Union. The Union Government refused to recognize the Confederacy either as a nation or even as a belligerent.

That one point was the keynote to all our Civil War diplomacy. England and France many times during our war were on the verge of recognizing the Confederacy. No doubt both wanted to see us divided. England wished to destroy Northern maritime commerce, which nearly equaled her own; she wished to obtain the raw cotton from the South, and then sell it back to the South when manufactured. To obtain that recognition the South made a Constitution like ours except for one change, which provided that there should be no tariff—in other words, free trade.

It is easy to understand that if England and France had intervened and sustained the Confederacy, our country would to-day be an enlarged Mexico or the Balkan quarrels intensified,

That the point contended for by the North—viz., that the Southern States were never out of the Union—was vital is clearly shown by the remarkable fact that, while slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment, no amendment was ever made prohibiting a State from seceding; and, so far as the Constitution itself or the laws in pursuance thereof are concerned, any State has to-day the same right to secede that it had in 1860. The ground taken was that to pass an amendment prohibiting a State from seceding would be to acknowledge that such a right had previously existed.

When Napoleon III had decided upon and was on the verge of recognizing the Confederacy, Garibaldi started another one of his revolutions to unify Italy, and it had so much vitality that Napoleon was afraid to risk the consequences and refrained, and thus Garibaldi, by distracting France and keeping her from recognizing the Confederacy, undoubtedly played an important part in the preservation of our Union.

Later on Napoleon III, in contravention of the Monroe Doctrine, threw an army into Mexico in support of Maxmilian, but was forced to withdraw it when threatened by President Grant.

By the time our Civil War ended the movement in Italy had gained such headway that in 1866 Garibaldi commenced his famous march, which ended at Rome in the final unification of Italy and the withdrawal of the French army from Rome. These two withdrawals destroyed the prestige of Napoleon III. His end came in 1870.

Since Giuseppe Garibaldi died Garibaldis have drawn the sword in behalf of England, Greece, Mexico, Albania, the Balkan States, and France.

When this last war broke out, General

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Ricciotti Garibaldi, the one with whom I had the above conversation, organized the "Garibaldi Legion" of Italians and offered their services to France. With him were his five oldest sons. In December, 1914, one of them, Lieutenant Bruno, was killed fighting in a charge on the German trenches. In January, 1915, another son, Lieutenant Constantino, was similarly killed, and in September a third was dangerously wounded.

When Italy entered the war, France released the Garibaldi Legion so that it could join the Italian army. To General Ricciotti and his three remaining sons—Peppino, Santo, and Ruppeni—was added still another son, Ezio, making six sons in all.

General Ricciotti has had the most active career of them all. As a foreign attaché he was an honorary member on the staff of General Grant during our Civil War. He marched with his father in 1866 through all the campaigns which ended at Rome with the establishment of Italy as a united nation. He fought for France in 1870 against Prussia. In 1897 he raised an Italian Legion to help Greece in Crete, and in 1912 again to help Greece in the Balkan War, and in 1914 again to help France against Germany and Austria. He has frequently visited America, the last time to attend the unveiling of a statue to his father in Chicago, in 1911.

His eldest son, Colonel Peppino, was with the English in South Africa fighting the Boers, then in Venezuela against Castro, then in Mexico against Porfirio Diaz, where he captured the city of Juarez for Madero.

In the conversation with General Ricciotti Garibaldi above described you can readily understand, considering its source, how deeply impressed I was with his two contentions, viz., that we had become a world power and that we had changed the methods of diplomacy. While circling the globe I frequently realized their truth. In comparison with the undisguised contempt shown for everything American during a trip to Asia made some ten years previously, the respect and consideration accorded me this time as an American were gratifying personally and confirmed his prophecy.

The climax was reached a year later in China, where I witnessed our master diplomat, John Hay, with the consistent American diplomacy of those golden days, interpose in the name of America and prevent the nations of Europe from dividing up China and parceling it out among themselves under the specious name of "spheres of influence." He finally persuaded them all, including Japan, to sign a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of China, known as the "open door treaty."

I was then very proud of being an American.

These latter days have shown that General Garibaldi placed too much faith in America in assuming that she would uphold the sanctity of treaties and would protect her own rights.

As a matter of fact, we actually take no notice of the murder of hundreds of Americans—men, women, and children—and the outraging of American women in Mexico; we ignore the highest duty of a nation, which is to protect its citizens, and in our folly we neglect to take those proper steps of preparation upon which we must depend to uphold our honor and safeguard our very existence.

It is true that when Germany morally, but not technically, broke the treaty relating to the neutrality of Belgium, to which America was *not* signatory, there was a fierce outburst of frenzied indignation all over the country; but it is also true that when, a few months later, the treaty to protect the integrity of China—that treaty to which we *are* signatory, and for the making of which we are wholly responsible, *our treaty*—is broken by Japan, the frenzied denunciation is conspicuous by its absence. A diplomatic dry rot takes its place and we silently shirk our responsibility and slink away into obscurity without a murmur of protest.

Our treaty, so vital to our honor as well as to our interests, is converted by our own act into another "scrap of paper."

I often think of Garibaldi's words, "When America makes a treaty, she says what she means, and will stick to it," and I wonder what that rugged, honor-loving, fighting Old Roman would now say of America and of our dishonored obligation. [In the issue of The Outlook for April 19 last will be found an article by Mr. Gino C. Speranza in which Mr. Stowell's question is answered by General Ricciotti Garibaldi's direct message to the American people.—THE EDITORS.] A new world will emerge from the throes of this war. There will be a leveling down of aristocracies and a raising up of the common people and higher ideals and morals will prevail.

As the nations involved *professed* to engage in it in defense of the sanctity of a treaty,

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and as the neutral nations *professed* to be horrified at its violation, let us hope that they will all henceforward put their *professions* into practice, so that the moral sentiment of the world will rigidly insist that a treaty between nations is a sacred contract and must be kept as faithfully as is the word of honor between gentlemen.

A RUSSIAN JEW ON AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOLS

BY ISAAC DON LEVINE

IN a newspaper letter I once told as follows the story of the way in which I entered an American high school.

"I left the house and went to the biggest high school in town. On the way I considered every possible result of my enterprise. 'There is no real danger,' said I to myself, 'if I'll not be accepted. Then, in the worst case, I might be driven out, but I'll not be arrested.' Repeating again and again the last phrase, I gained more and more boldness. But when I approached the large, majestic school building my heart sank within me and my firmness began to melt away so rapidly that when I was close to the door I became frightened and retreated quickly. Several times I repeated the same assault, but with the same result. I did not have the power to open the door.

"Fortunately, a man came out from the building and I confronted him in such a way that I had to enter. Once inside the building, I went to the office and said, 'Principal,' to the clerk, meaning that I wanted to speak to the principal. I had composed the opening sentence of the conversation—'I want to learn'—but was still in doubt what word to use in it, 'want' or 'wish,' thinking the former too harsh and commanding. I was shown into the private room of the principal. To my great surprise, there was no lackey with shining copper buttons on his coat waiting at the door. In vain I looked around the room for a red-faced, angry-looking, fat, uniformed principal. Instead I met the kind, inviting look of a neatly dressed elderly gentleman sitting at the desk. He asked me what he could do for me. I told him that I *wished* to learn, and, of course, pronounced it with such an accent that he at once understood what kind of a student specimen he faced.

"He motioned me to sit down, but I was so bewildered that I could not think of sitting in the principal's office. He asked me many a question, and, in order to convince himself of the truth of my statements, he wrote down an algebraic formula and asked me to solve it. I did it immediately, but pronounced 'x^2' *ekks kvadrat*. I was accepted as a pupil in high school, and while waiting for my card I overheard the principal repeating 'kvadr-r-r-r-r-r-a-at' to one of the teachers, and they both had a good laugh over it."

It was in the English High School, Boston, Massachusetts, one of the oldest and most famous in the country, that the above-described scene took place. It was there that I began my career of a high school student that lasted two and a half years and that took me through three different schools in three different States of the Union. Besides the English High, I have also attended the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, high school, perhaps a typical provincial American school, and the Westport High, Kansas City, Missouri, a school that in point of modernity and equipment is more than up to date, and which is located in a city that claims to have a larger number of high school pupils than any other city in the world in proportion to its population.

Although the prime object of my going to high school was the study of English, I have never missed an opportunity of studying the American high school. Coming in contact with teachers and pupils as one of the regular students does, I have never failed comparing every little item of the American schools with that of the corresponding Russian *gymnasia*. And through these comparisons I arrived at the conclusion that, in spite of the wonderful organization of the American high school, it is of a lower standard than its parallel school in Russia. This statement is made on the strength of the result of comparing the average American and Russian high school graduates. The latter are positively better

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educated, more intelligent and cultured, than the former.

By the "wonderful organization" of the American high school I mean several things. First of all comes the electiveness of subjects and the wide range of them offered for instruction. I was amazed when first informed that I could pick out, as I saw fit, my course from thirty different subjects; that I could start and drop the study of a language or any other subject every year or half-year. The American spirit of liberty characterizes this factor in the system of the high schools of this country, a factor that is undoubtedly superior to the clean-cut and unchangeable Russian course, which has to be taken in its entirety and cannot be modified at the will of any person. It is obvious that to compel all the pupils to study the same subjects from beginning to graduation, as is done in Russia (although one cannot elect his course in the Russian high school, one can choose one of the three types of schools in existence there—the commercial, technical, or royal, and the mentioned *gymnasia*, the one that leads directly to the university), would be absurd; but that studying a subject during a year, then changing it for another, results in having the points which secured the diploma represent a multitude of subjects, a quality that contributes strongly towards making the American high school graduate's knowledge shallow, cannot be doubted.

Co-education as it is practiced in the American high school is truly wonderful. It is still experimental in Europe, but it has proved a distinct success on this side of the Atlantic. As I have seen it from the pupil's bench, it stimulates rivalry in studying, and it develops normal relations between the sexes by bringing them closer together, thus enabling so many young men and women to study each other's characters, a study which is of prime importance in view of the fact that many troubles between man and woman arise from mutual misunderstanding. When one well-known sociologist of the Middle West had once made the statement to me that he believed half the troubles in the world could be eliminated by men's better understanding of each other, he probably was too conservative. Co-education is a powerful aid in bringing about mutual understanding between men and women of the coming generations. The American high school deserves great credit for accomplishing it in the most splendid manner. The countless clubs and societies existing within the walls of the school building are fulfilling an illustrious mission in a way that cannot be excelled.

It always has seemed to me that, in order to appreciate fully the social life in this country, one must be first a Russian. Think of high school students' clubs in Russia! Think of gatherings of pupils discussing whatever they please—literature, science, or sport! That was incomprehensible to me. "Why, they even have their own journals published in the American high schools," I remember having written to a friend of mine in the old country, "periodicals that are not censored and stand no chance of being confiscated." The difference between the social life of the American and Russian high school student bodies is vast. The Russian pupil is under a military régime; he has no right to belong to any society of any nature, he has no right to show himself on the streets after a certain evening hour, usually eight or nine o'clock, and is quite often subjected to searches by police and school authorities. The relations between the teacher and the pupil are those of two avowed enemies. The discipline is of iron. In comparison with the Russian, the American high school discipline is not half as rigid. Yet, just the same, the able American teacher gets better results from his pupils than the Russian teacher. But there are very few of this caliber. The best teachers I have known, both as a pupil and as a teacher, were Americans, and so were the worst. And the latter were so numerous that I would often think that they were responsible for the failure of the American high school to supply its pupils with a deeper, more fundamental education. That the blame is to a very large extent on the great majority of the good-for-nothing teachers cannot be doubted. Of the fifteen or so teachers I came in close contact with while at the English High, Boston, there were only three worth being called so, while two of them were really good pedagogues. The rest of the number could have made good physicians, lawyers, politicians, or real estate men, but they were absolutely worthless as instructors. Of the five teachers I knew in Portsmouth High, there was only one woman who possessed the ability and the inherent something that could qualify her as a good teacher; the others would have done more good to the community if they had chosen different vocations in life. There are about fifty teachers in the Westport High

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School, Kansas City, Missouri, and only one of the ten I knew among these was a first-class teacher. The rest would have done better had they become saleswomen or housewives.

That something is wrong with the American system of admitting teachers into the school faculty can be seen from the large number of persons who fill vacancies as high school teachers without having first proved to the school board that they can do their work efficiently. There seems to be a popular belief in this country that anybody who has succeeded in securing a teacher's diploma is already a teacher; that no special ability is required to make one a teacher; that there is no art in teaching. In the English High, Boston, there was a vacancy for a teacher of German. A number of teachers submitted their applications. A young man was chosen who had graduated from the university with great honors. He had proved to the professors there that he knew more German than any other student of the class. He was chosen as a teacher. And he proved to be very deficient—so deficient that had he been employed by a private corporation he would have been discharged immediately. But such was not the case. A class of forty pupils who were willing to study German soon lost their appetite and wasted their time during a whole school year. He had more than one class, and not in a single one of them did he succeed in doing anything. He failed to command the respect, confidence, or interest of a single student. The teachers knew that he was a failure; so did the head of the school. But when the second school year arrived, it found the teacher at his desk in his school-room. He was there because there was no crime or fault that he had committed for which he could be discharged. His utter inability to teach was not a crime or a fault.

The above instance is by no means an exception. I have seen teachers who spend hours on a phrase in Julius Cæsar, thus killing with too much grammar all the interest the pupil has in the story and in the Latin; teachers who believe that the study of Shakespeare consists in learning by heart a number of passages from his plays; teachers who make mathematics tenfold as dry as it is, and who flood with endless commentaries the reading of Dumas's works in the original. Such pedantic and narrow-minded persons, who fail to see the bigness of the subject they teach, are intrusted with the education of young men and women of an age that demands most delicate handling. Then there are also teachers, and a good many of them too, who do not teach at all. They just cut the text-book into a certain number of parts, assigning those as lessons, and getting returns from written examinations. They work on the assumption that the text-book can explain better than themselves.

It has been said that the greatest asset of the American teacher is the individual freedom of action he possesses. But, as great an asset as it is in the hands of the able pedagogue, this is a very dangerous weapon in the hands of those who know not how to teach. These lack the instinct of knowing what is right or wrong to do, and such should be led by the strong arm of an experienced instructor. It is a fact, however, that as soon as one gets the position of a teacher he becomes so independent that he will not accept any suggestions from the principal or fellow-teachers. I have seen teachers follow wrong methods in the presence of the principal, and continue to do so a long time afterwards. As the number of the inefficient ones is large, it would be impossible to replace them with able instructors; but a change in the administration of high schools might accomplish as much, or nearly so.

Take, for instance, Russia. There the high schools of the entire country are governed by the Ministry of Education. The country is divided into a number of departments of education, in order to facilitate the work. The programme of each and every high school is the same. The same text-books are used everywhere. The directors and teachers are appointed by the Government. Inspectors are also appointed whose duty it is to report on the work of the instructors. If each State in the Union should intrust its high schools to the hands of a special commission of experts, which would make all the schools uniform, would select text-books, would appoint teachers, and inspectors to guide the teachers so long as they are incompetent and inexperienced, a great improvement in the high school education in this country would follow. What is imperative is depriving the incapable, pedantic teachers of the power of initiative in their work. This power ought to be vested in the veteran pedagogues of the city or State.

The efficiency of the American high school could also be made greater by some changes in the study-hour arrangement. Perhaps

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theoretically physicians are right in claiming that the efficiency of the teacher and pupil is greater when an hour's work is followed by an hour's rest. But I must confess that, in spite of my ardent desire to learn and my age, I still found it a strain, mentally and physically, to sit six or seven hours (though some of them were study hours), with intermissions scarcely long enough to change class-rooms and one barely sufficient to eat lunch in the crowded basement of the school building. The Russian system of having school from nine to two, with five-minute intermissions between the hours, and with one of twenty-five minutes' duration for lunch and play, seems to be superior to the American. The American idea of study hours should be either extended to the extent of having the pupils prepare all their lessons in school or entirely eliminated, thus shortening appreciably the school hours.

There is another great trouble with the American high school. And that is the false spirit being fostered there by the teachers and outside speakers, the spirit of "business über alles." There is not a greater wrong being committed in this country than that of having its young men and women learn that they are being prepared for and equipped with knowledge of hunting after and procuring money. I remember Mayor Fitzgerald, of Boston, addressing more than a thousand pupils in the auditorium of the English High School. He made a fiery speech on the importance of learning Spanish. He unfolded before the eyes of the young listeners treasure islands and gold mines in the South American republics. The Mayor of Boston—a city that has been universally acknowledged as the Alma Mater of American literature—urges the study of a language to an audience of high school students on the ground that it will repay in precious metal! I agreed with the Mayor that the South American trade would be a good thing for this country, but I could hardly suppress my disgust at the thundering voice of the speaker: "Business! Business!" I saw the greed for gold shine in the eyes of the pupils. And this took place in a public school, in a building where the portraits of Washington and Lincoln adorned the walls! Thus the students get the idea that the city is giving them, the chosen few, an education which they must use in order to get rich quick, while thousands of boys and girls of their ages will work in the shops and factories for a morsel of bread.

The high school's aim is twofold: one is to prepare its scholars for college, and the other is to prepare them for a career in life. Both ends could be successfully accomplished without awakening in the hearts of the pupils feelings of greed and money-making. It is sad but nevertheless a fact that I have heard many teachers compare frequently in the class-room the money-making power of one pupil with another's, all these comparisons being drawn not in classes of commercial studies. As if a citizen of the Jefferson, Lincoln, or Hale type is not worth being set as an example before the young generation! The great American authors, philosophers, statesmen, soldiers, and orators are studied as interesting historical characters, but never, never were mentioned as the ideal type of citizen by any of the teachers I came across during the two and a half years I spent in the American high schools. I have never heard a teacher point to Morse, Edison, or Wright as to an example, but always it was to Rockefeller, Carnegie, or Morgan that the allusion was made.

That we have to do here with a state of mind of the American business public cannot be questioned. That, imbued with the ideals of the same class of people, the teachers and politicians are trying to convert the high school education in the United States into a medium of producing successful money-makers only can be deduced from almost any short talk the average teacher is likely to give in his own class-room at any time, on any occasion. That the only function of the American high school is bringing up successful money-makers is a subject still open to discussion. But that the education the student gets is often impractical and meager can be seen from the examination papers of any class in any high school in this country. From these papers it will be discovered that even in the third and fourth year classes misspelling of the commonest words is general, writing of a coherent paragraph is absolutely rare, translation of the simplest phrases from a foreign language into English is done in the most ludicrous manner, and the knowledge of the most renowned historical incidents or geographical places is perverted and inaccurate. The average American high school graduate has no fundamental knowledge of any one subject, except sporting, perhaps. But if he is weak on scholastic education, is he morally strong enough to meet men, to face the eternal problems of life, and to fight

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its battles? The answer is "No," with the exception of a certain kind of student. I mean the one who makes his way through high school, self-supporting. And this is the only kind of student that justifies the existence of the American high school.

The one thing the American high school does do efficiently is physical training. But it neglects grossly the moral training. Or is it moral training when a teacher points to the fellow who makes twenty-five dollars a week as an inferior to the one who makes thirty dollars? Is it moral training when *how* the money is procured is not pointed out, the sum itself being a sufficient guarantee that it has been accumulated with integrity?

The American high school is badly in need of reforms. It needs a new force of teachers who are teachers by instinct as well as by training. It needs a more centralized form of government. It needs a contingent of inspectors and some changes in the present system and methods; and, first and foremost, it needs another soul, another spirit, not one that points to money-making as to the occupation of the ideal citizen, but one that has animated the lives of Franklin, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lincoln, and Cleveland—the real American spirit.

GEORGE KENNAN

BY WILLIAM H. DALL

In our picture section this week will be found an interesting portrait of Mr. George Kennan in cap, gown, and hood. The photograph was taken just after Mr. Kennan's reception of the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Rochester at its recent Commencement exercises. This is the second college degree bestowed upon Mr. Kennan, the first by Williams College eight years ago. As the following article shows, Mr. Kennan began his life-work in boyhood and, as he himself has said, "never got higher up the educational ladder than a country grammar school." It is said that on one or more occasions when asked, "What is your college?" he has replied, "Russia." The degree of Doctor of Letters, now twice bestowed on Mr. Kennan, is closely, and even unusually, appropriate; for few writers of the day, in our judgment, present facts and thoughts so clearly and in so finished a style and manner of expression as does Mr. Kennan. He is not only a close observer and an accurate narrator of facts, but also a brilliant and cultivated writer of the English language. The editors of The Outlook cannot present this portrait and this article dealing with the facts of Mr. Kennan's life without once more expressing their deep appreciation of the remarkable service to The Outlook and to all Americans which has resulted from Mr. Kennan's work as correspondent in the war in Cuba and in the Russo-Japanese War, as the writer who was almost the first man to ascend Mont Pelée after the Martinique disaster, and as contributor of scores of articles and news reports, some signed and some unsigned, relating to Russia, Japan, and other subjects as to which his special knowledge has been invaluable.—THE EDITORS.

GEORGE KENNAN'S forebears in the seventeenth century were of that Scotch-Irish strain to which America owes so many distinguished men. In 1744 they settled in Rutland, Massachusetts, where the first American Kennan was born. One Kennan was a colonel in the Revolutionary War. John Kennan, the father of George Kennan, was a lawyer by profession, but had a predilection for mechanics, and from childhood he delighted in machines and inventions. He was one of the earliest Americans to take up the daguerreotype process, and he experimented with the earlier telegraphic instruments and code, in the use of which he became proficient, so that when the first line reached his town (Norwalk, Ohio) he was prepared to take charge of the local telegraph station. His tastes and facility must have been inherited by his son George, since the latter, spending much of his time in his father's office, when barely five years old had not only picked up the art of sending messages in the Morse code, but soon learned to read them by sound, a very unusual accomplishment at that time. He remembers sending his first commercial telegram to Cleveland, Ohio, on his sixth birthday, his father printing it out for him, as at that time he did not read handwriting easily.

After experience in several telegraph offices during the early part of the Civil War, George

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Kennan was stationed at Cincinnati. Here he tried to fit himself for college during the day—his hours at the office being from 6 P.M. to 2 A.M.—but after some months found his health unequal to the double strain. He became an expert telegrapher, making a "record" by receiving for fifty minutes a succession of messages at the rate of forty words a minute without a break. This life in war time taught him many things besides those pertaining to his profession, and by a rigid self-discipline he acquired a self-control which in his future was to prove of inestimable value.

His inborn love of adventure urged him toward the military telegraph with the army, but he was too valuable as an expert in the city, where first-class men were needed. The Superintendent of Military Telegraphs consoled him by the assurance that he was doing more for his country there than he could possibly do at the front. In the latter part of 1864 his strength began to fail from the overstrain of working ten to fourteen hours a day, often without the least interval of rest. Under these circumstances he made a strong appeal for an appointment on the force of the telegraph expedition then projected to join Europe and America by an overland line via northwest America, a Bering Strait cable, and Siberia. The successive failure of three Atlantic cables had led to the belief that so long a submarine cable could not endure, and the only alternative was a short cable connecting two long land lines.

The diplomatic questions had been settled, the funds subscribed for the project, and the explorations for the route of the land lines were to be undertaken. Early in 1865 he joined the commander of the expedition in New York, proceeded to the Pacific coast, and sailed for eastern Siberia. The record of his adventures during the three years following is contained in his "Tent Life in Siberia," the charm and fidelity of which have made it a classic among books of travel, and gained him the doctorate of literature from Williams College in 1879.

The difficulties of operation of the Atlantic cable having been overcome, the overland project was given up, and Kennan, who by this time had gained fluency in the Russian tongue, returned by the long journey across Siberia to St. Petersburg, and thence to the United States.

By writing and lecturing he accumulated in 1870 funds sufficient to undertake a long-hoped-for journey to the Caucasus, from which he returned in January, 1871, after many hardships. From this time he took up again his literary work and lectures, and finally accepted a place in the Law Department of the Mutual Life Insurance Company. This indirectly led to his connection with the Associated Press, first as reporter of the Supreme Court at Washington, and afterward as Assistant General Manager of the Washington office.

Singular and even romantic happenings led up to Kennan's acceptance of a proposal from the Century Company that he should undertake the investigation of the Russian exile system, by which he is best known.

The theory of the system is logically defensible. Since capital punishment, except for treason, did not exist in Russia, the idea of sending criminals to a new country where, after a period of discipline, they might start on a new career, has much theoretically to recommend it, and it was for many years also adopted by England. It is in practical application that the theory has broken down.

The great majority of Siberian exiles in 1868 were common criminals, many of them of a most debased type. There were at that time few political exiles, and those met by Kennan were living in apparent comfort and made no complaints to him of harsh treatment. He had come back convinced that the horrors of the system had been greatly exaggerated, and in lectures and otherwise had defended the Russian Government. This was known to Russian officials, and they naturally supposed that one who had so committed himself would be unlikely to change his opinion. Hence on his arrival in Russia his proposed investigation met with little opposition, and he was supplied with documents recommending him to local officials.

Since Kennan's earlier journey, not only had the mass of common criminals sent to Siberia increased far beyond the capacity of the existing facilities for their shelter and decent care, but the number of so-called "politicals" was much larger. The conditions are depicted in his "Siberia and the Exile System," every fact in which can be confirmed from purely Russian sources.

Kennan found the exiles of the political type quite different in character from his previous conceptions of them. His sympathies led him to do more than record the sufferings he observed. Laden with written messages sent by those exiled and cut off by "adminis-

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trative process" from their dearest ties of family and friends, he made the long journey back from the wilderness. To add to the tense anxiety of the situation his companion, an artist who also spoke Russian, began to break down mentally under the strain, and might at any time in his delirious babbling have led to discovery. The possible consequences to Kennan and his exile friends must be left to the imagination. No wonder that wherever in Russia liberty is dear and high ideals cherished Kennan's name is almost sacred.

The publication of his work on the exile system in 1892 had the effect, not only of informing the world of the true conditions, but also of leading to more or less amelioration of those conditions in Russia. No bureaucracy, however hidebound, can indefinitely defy the opinion of the civilized world. The extreme care Kennan had taken to verify his data from Russian, and often official, sources has made it impossible for any defender of the system to controvert successfully the statements he has made.

It is, however, not surprising that on a later visit to Russia, in 1901, as soon as his presence was known he was expelled from the Empire, by order of the Minister of the Interior, as "politically untrustworthy."

Meantime Kennan as a staff correspondent of The Outlook had accompanied the Red Cross expedition to Cuba during the Spanish-American War. It is probable that his clear exposition of conditions observed there was not without its effect on the reforms in our army methods subsequently instituted. These observations also appeared in permanent form in the book entitled "Campaigning in Cuba."

In 1902 the catastrophe at Martinique brought about by the eruption of Mont Pelée was reported upon by Kennan for The Outlook with results which many readers will remember.

On the breaking out of the Japanese war with Russia in 1904 Kennan was again called into the field. He traveled extensively in China and Japan, and spent two months in the Japanese trenches at Port Arthur with General Nogi's army. He was finally forced to return on account of relapses due to the pernicious malaria incurred during his Cuban campaign. His subsequent contributions to a better understanding of the Japanese people are familiar to recent readers of The Outlook.

Mr. Kennan's summer home is ideal for a literary worker. It is on the quiet shore of the Bras d'Or Lake, Cape Breton Island.

The chief characteristics of Mr. Kennan's literary work are its clear and unsensational presentation of facts, its easy diction, its evidence of acute powers of observation, and the presence (but not obtrusion) of a genial sense of humor.

THE READER'S VIEW

DO RIGHT AND FEAR NOT

In a recent number of The Outlook you refer to Pilate as having failed, in part, because he was unwilling to use military power in behalf of a man of whose righteousness and integrity he was satisfied. What, in all likelihood, would have happened if Pilate had so used his power —to Jesus? to Pilate? to the Jewish nation? to the Cause? W. R. R.

[We do not know what would have happened if Pilate had used his power to protect Jesus, nor does that question interest us. He was charged with the duty of judging whether the prisoner before him was guilty or innocent, and with the further duty of protecting him, if innocent, from the mob, and that duty he should have performed, no matter what the consequences to himself or to any one else. The question what is right can never be determined by guessing what will be the consequences of our action.—THE EDITORS.]

QUAKERS AND PREPAREDNESS

I have just finished reading "A Third Woman's View of Preparedness" in your issue of June 21. The reason why the Quakers were so safe in Philadelphia with "no gun behind the door" was that they had established a line of Scotch and Scotch-Irish settlements up along the Blue Ridge at Paxtang and Derry, on the Yellow Breeches Creek, at Carlisle, Big Spring, and these were the people who did the fighting of the Indians for the Quakers and kept the Indians off them. At one period it was necessary for the settlers from Paxtang to go down to Philadelphia *with their guns* to convince the Quakers that it was their duty to furnish powder and ball to help in the good work,

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and as an object-lesson they took along some of those who had been scalped by the Indians.

As to the next question, I have a friend who is a medical missionary at Paotingfu, China; he says that the present compound was given to the organization in memory of the former corps of missionaries, who were all killed in the Boxer uprising—they had no guns.

It seems to me that F. T. R. has been unfortunate in her illustrations.

Scranton, Pennsylvania. H. C. McKENZIE.

EVEN THE JELLYFISH IS PREPARED TO FIGHT

In The Outlook for April 19, after pointing out that "dinosaurs have been barred from the anti-preparedness fight by competent authority," you suggest that "the jellyfish might be employed to point the desired moral."

It may interest you and your readers to know that even the harmless-looking jellyfish, far from being unprepared to resist attack, is equipped with a means of protection which it constantly uses in an offensive way.

There are in the waters of the Philippines three distinct kinds of jellyfish, all of which render bathing distinctly unpleasant, and sometimes actually dangerous, if they happen to be in the vicinity. The most common kind around Manila is dark reddish-brown in color, and as big as your fist. Contact with this species produces a tingling sensation resembling the effect produced by contact with a hot iron. The effect is purely local, however, and passes off in an hour or two without leaving any mark, after profuse sweating on the part of the body which has been stung.

Another kind, which is as large as a hat, is white in color. This species is supplied with a much more virulent poison, and is to be carefully avoided by the bather. But the most dangerous kind of all is nearly transparent in the water, and about the size of a dollar. It has, however, long streamers of a filmy nature floating out a foot and more to the rear. By means of these a strong poison is injected into any person unfortunate enough to come in contact with them. The writer has spent half a day in bed with a fairly high fever as a consequence of being stung by one of these harmless-looking and almost invisible creatures. He is also aware of more serious cases where the person attacked had to be taken to the hospital. Ammonia is considered the best remedy, and in one serious case this was given internally, as the heart is affected by the poison. Cases have been reported where death has resulted from the sting of this sort of jellyfish, but I cannot vouch for them on my own authority. The scar left by this jellyfish is borne for months, though the unpleasant effects pass off in a few days.

All of which, of course, goes to prove that those who urge anti-preparedness for mankind will be hard put to it to find a model to follow in the animal kingdom.

WILLIAM T. HILLES.

ARMY WOMEN

When I saw the headlines of the morning paper the other day in regard to the Mexican situation and the ordering of the militia to the border, my first thought was of the mothers, sisters, and all women whose hearts would be engulfed in sadness at the startling news. My next thought was, *Now* they will appreciate and understand what has been and is the lot of the women of the regular army from day to day and year to year. Their sword of Damocles is this: the sudden uprooting of the home, no matter what event is expected or transpiring there; the change from one extreme climate to another, from the center of civilization to a remote, isolated garrison; the dreaded distance from expert medical care in extreme cases; and the ever-anxious matter of schools for the little folk.

The army woman is a devoted mother, and is especially anxious that her children shall have education. Should she live in a harbor garrison, it means the early breakfast and well-prepared luncheon that the youngsters may take the early boat, in all weathers, for the city school. Again, it often means the establishing of a private school in the garrison, should other schools be too far away, or the expense of a governess. The Government furnishes transportation, if possible, for children going some distance to school—non-coms.' and privates' children as well. Many a morning in Montana I have seen an army wagon on runners, canvas-covered, with a deep bed of hay in the bottom, go the rounds of non-coms.' quarters, gathering up the youngsters, who tumbled in with great glee for their ride in the bitter cold to the nearest school-house, the good-natured teamster going for them in the afternoon.

To many an outsider the army woman's life may seem care-free and superficial, especially if one reads the garrison notes in the army papers; but it is remarkable how she loves her home and how many cultured and refined households fill army posts. It is marvelous to see how soon after the "plunder" arrives the house is settled and ready for the prompt call and attentions of kindly neighbors. This was especially the rule before the advent of ponderous mahogany. An army woman may come into the army circle from almost any walk of life, may have been the breadwinner, etc., but she is accepted as equal to her husband's rank, and, although she may be utterly ignorant of army etiquette, she is soon assimilated into that guarded environment and often blossoms into a leader. Should she have good, common sense, her influence is always recognized as the best; but if

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she is a snob—well, a snobbish army woman is the most despicable of snobs. The most cultured garrison I ever visited was an isolated post in Alaska. After the long and dangerous journey thither, and the regiment was fully—if not exactly comfortably—settled, the ladies put their heads together and talked over the situation, which was this: mail arriving every fifteen days or longer; native Indian women so diseased surgeons forbade their being hired as servants; during the winter months snow piling twelve feet deep. A few leaders had brought servants with them, but others were compelled to do their own work, with possibly a striker to help with the heaviest. This was the result: They found among themselves and a few of the officers musical talent enough to form a musical club and orchestra, which in time gave excellent entertainments for the soldiers; a daily walking club—rain, snow, or shine—secured them healthful exercise; and one day each week a member was to serve afternoon tea in her quarters to the ladies, officers, and guests of the garrison.

When a visiting chaplain came—there was none at the garrison—the women did all in their power to induce the men to attend service and to make the bare barrack room acceptable to all in attendance.

Up over the hill, just a little way in the awful stillness of eternal snow, glacier, and ocean, was a fenced plot, and in one corner were the mounds that told so much. One was that of a young wife who had laid down life's burden so far away from home and dear ones. Next to her was a little one, a household idol possibly. Can you wonder at the dread of illness and disaster in such a place?

Think of the army of women that are behind our army to-day—not only in the United States, but in the tropical heat of Panama, the Philippines, Honolulu, and the Southwest. To them all the flag means the honorable service—or death—of their loved ones. It is the weather-vane that greets their eyes with the morning light—the small one for storms, the larger one for fair skies, the great and glorious garrison flag for the Nation's days; and, oh, at half-staff it means sorrow and bereavement to some household, for a servant of his country has passed into the ranks of the militant in heaven!

AN ARMY WOMAN.

CHURCH UNION IN CANADA

The Outlook for June 28, referring to the recent action of the Presbyterian General Assembly *in re* Church union in Canada, uses these words: "The final debate on union . . . is considered a triumph of new democratic ideas over the traditions of creed and sectarianism."

This statement is misleading and does a grave injustice to the opponents of the union movement. From a wide personal knowledge I can assert with confidence that the great majority of the anti-unionists may be correctly described as "liberal-conservatives" in their attitude toward theology. They believe that the divine revelation is progressive and continuous. The creeds of the past are to them invaluable as testimonies. They register the attempts of earnest men to answer ever-recurring questions, and as such are worthy of reverent study; but to use them in such a way as to make the thinking of one age the standard for all future ages is, they feel, a crime against the Holy Spirit, who is ever guiding his Church into clearer conceptions of the truth. Indeed, one of the objections which I have frequently heard made to the proposed union is that its credal basis is too dogmatic.

Nor are the anti-unionists open to the charge of "sectarianism." They believe that sects are the product of intellectual differences, and that they will continue to exist as long as men differ, which will probably be forever. But they feel that there is no reason why these different sects should not come together in the service of humanity—why, in other words, there should not be a federation of churches for the bringing in of the kingdom of God, the same as there is a federation of states for the government of the world.

The anti-union sentiment in Canada has its roots in the belief that organic unity is not desirable, for the simple reason that it destroys individuality and produces that uniformity which can be realized only in death. Spiritual unity is a very different thing; it means diversity, and diversity means life and power. The glory of our Protestantism is that its unity is rooted in diversity. It is only ecclesiasticism that wants to make all Christians wear the same uniform. It is this deep conviction that has led so many earnest men and women in Canada to oppose the movement looking towards the organic union of the churches. They believe that there is no need for competing sects, and that the problems overlapping can best be solved through a closer co-operation on the part of the different churches.

It should also be pointed out that the vote of the General Assembly committing the Church to union was not by any means representative of the Presbyterian Church as a whole. This will be clear when it is remembered that only thirty-two per cent of the communicants of the Church voted in favor of union when the question was submitted to them last autumn. In the light of this fact, it is practically certain that even if union is consummated a strong Presbyterian Church will remain in Canada. There are indications that the anti-union sentiment has been growing since the meeting of the Assembly in Winnipeg, and, if this continues, it is even possible that the action of that Assembly may be rescinded by a future Assembly.

Galt, Ontario. J. KEIR FRASER.

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BY THE WAY

Extinguishing a blazing oil gusher is a tremendous job. As described in "Collier's," several hundred men were engaged for seventeen hours in preparing to put out a fire of this kind at Humble, Texas; then a crew attacked the blaze with steam from twenty-seven boilers and water from many lines of hose. The assault was made from behind sheet-iron shields, and it literally sent over three huge columns of flame and drove them into a tunnel that had been dug into the ground. Here the fire was smothered in a few minutes.

"Switchel" is advocated as a summer drink by a contributor to the "Rural New Yorker." Ginger root, sugar, and a quart of water are boiled to a syrup, strained, and some vinegar added; this concoction is diluted with ice water, and drunk in the harvest field to the accompaniment of appreciative smacks and cries of "That's good!"

"What misfortune then happened to Bishop Odo?" was a question asked of the history class, according to a correspondent of the London "Spectator." "He went blind," one pupil answered. An explanation was demanded. "There, sir!" triumphantly exclaimed the youthful historian, "the book says so." The sentence indicated read, "Odo was deprived of his see."

In Denver, says an exchange, a building erected in 1909 has that date in Roman notation, MCMIX, engraved on its portal. The other day a citizen asked another man if he had seen anything of their common friend Danny that day. "I sure did," was the reply, "A few minutes ago I seen him standing in front of McMick's building over there on the corner."

The Premier of Australia has, according to a despatch, purchased fifteen large steamships in London for moving the Australian harvest. The ships will be operated as the Commonwealth Government Line. The price is said to have been $650,000 for each boat.

"Target toss" is recommended by "Good Health" as a lawn game. Draw three circles on the grass—the first one to be one foot in diameter, the second two and a half feet, the third three feet. Stand about ten feet away from the edge of the outer circle. A bean-bag is used to toss into the circles. If it enters the small circle, twenty-five is counted. The second circle counts fifteen, the third five. Any number of people may play.

In front of a bathing establishment in New York City a sign attracts attention on account of the variety of baths it announces. One can get, besides the familiar Turkish bath, an "electric light bath," a "Vichy douche," a mud bath, a sand bath, a pine-needle bath, or an "oil rub"—almost anything, in fact, except the bath in perfumed milk which was the favorite of the "Arabian Nights" princesses. The above-named baths are all priced at $3 except the "oil rub," which costs only a dollar.

A curious "international incident" is thus recorded by an exchange: "The strict regulations against evening lighting in England lead to some singular occurrences. A woman was fined at Woking recently, although she protested that the light had been switched on by the small child who climbed out of bed to get the teddy bear."

Prices of photographic chemicals have advanced from 100 to 1,000 per cent, the "Journal of Commerce" states. The greatest consumer of these chemicals is now the motion-picture industry, ordinary commercial photography and "snap-shotting" being subordinate to the movies.

The cost of repairing seagoing vessels has more than doubled in the last twelve months, so "Shipping Illustrated" says, and has caused in some cases the abandonment of damaged vessels. A case quoted is that of the Lucinda Sutton: "Owing to the prohibitive cost of repairs she will be abandoned by the owners; the cargo will be forwarded by another vessel."

Walnut has "come back." Years ago it was considered the most attractive wood on the market, but fashion changed. Now it has been in a measure restored to favor. It is said that over two hundred American manufacturers of furniture are now using walnut, and that many important buildings are being finished with it.

The death of Mrs. Hetty Green, widely proclaimed the richest woman in the world, is likely to be followed by interesting and expensive litigation. The State of New York will try to collect $5,000,000 as inheritance tax on Mrs. Green's estate, which has been popularly estimated at $125,000,000. But Mrs. Green, in death as in life, had no intention that her estate should let any money go which it could hold. Her will was filed for probate in Vermont, and in that State it is said that only $1,250 can be claimed as inheritance tax. A new law in New York makes it more difficult for a person who lives part of the time in New York and part of the time elsewhere to claim non-residence as to New York. Here, then, is a fine opportunity for the lawyers. Another peculiarity is that Mrs. Green during her life received the income from an estate of a million and a half dollars left in 1832 by a great-uncle, with the condition that the principal should revert to his own heirs at Mrs. Green's death. Colonel Green, the son of Hetty Green, is now quoted as saying that there are at least seventeen thousand heirs to that old estate. Reckoning them at fifteen thousand, and supposing that all can be found, there would be just a hundred dollars for each.

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